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THE CONFINES OF A WILDERNESS¹

BY JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT

I

When Washington Irving described Saint Louis in 1810 as a frontier settlement, picturesque but only half-civilized,² by the interest inherent in his narrative and by the skill of his pen, he created an impression which has served the uncritical for authentic portraiture. Romantic and colorful, his picture has been accepted even by those who should have been skeptical.³ Many readers and numerous writers have been entirely satisfied with Irving's comments on Saint Louis. When they require further authority, they quote, of course, from Roosevelt, who tells us that the French of the Illinois country were poor, indolent, subservient, and dependent. The French of Saint Louis, by implication, are the same sort, and Irving is therefore confirmed.⁴ Roosevelt's account is so well written, so attractively expressed, that readers (and writers, too, apparently) often do not stop to question the justice or accuracy of his statements.

When, however, writers wish to be really thorough, they go back of Irving and Roosevelt to primary sources. This means, first of all, Levasseur. Lafayette's party in 1825 stopped at Saint Louis all one day and half of the night; it even stayed the next day at Kaskaskia. This stop-over gave the secretary authoritative basis for his statements. At Saint Louis he found himself "on the confines of a wilderness."⁵ The people of Kaskaskia, whom he regarded as representative of the Mississippi Valley French, astonished him.

¹This article is part of a full-length study of the cultural contrasts between the Creole and the American in the early West.

²*Astoria* (any edition), Chapter VI.

³The student of western history, at least, should be aware that Irving was serving as press-agent for John Jacob Astor; he should know also that Irving did not bother to examine personally the huge masses of manuscript put before him. See his own preface to *Astoria*.

⁴Roosevelt, Theodore, *The Winning of the West*, (4 vols.; New York, 1894), Vol. I, pp. 38-47.

⁵Levasseur, A., *Lafayette in America*, translated by John D. Godman, (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1820), Vol. II, p. 128.

They are acquainted with France only by tradition from the reign of Louis XIV, and they have no idea of the convulsions which, during the last forty years, have torn the country of their fathers. "Have you not," said one of them to me, "another famous general, called Napoleon?"⁶

The poor Levasseur was astounded to find that Napoleon "who believed he filled the universe with his name . . . was yet hardly known on the banks of the Mississippi."⁷ If Levasseur's statements are accurate, then Saint Louis was indeed a mere backwoods post.

But this is nothing. The scholarly writer has many more references in his files. He calls upon the learned and observant Michaux. This French botanist (travelling in the Illinois in 1795 as agent for Citizen Genet) was forced to admit that he found "St. Louis flourishing,"⁸ but he redeemed himself when he declared that the French men of Kaskaskia went about in breech-clouts.⁹ Ergo, the French lived like savages. Volney, in this same decade, had little approval for our valley French. "Apathy, indolence, and poverty"¹⁰ equally prevail among the French settlers at Kaskaskias, Cahokias, Rocky Meadows, St. Lewis, &c.¹¹

Timothy Flint neatly shows the primitiveness of the town: ". . . under the French and Spanish regime, they [Saint Louis and Sainte Genevieve] had existed

⁶*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 132.

⁷*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 132. In connection with Lafayette's visit, there is an even more astounding reference. We are told that one of the prominent French women of Saint Louis asked General Lafayette: "C'est votre première visite en Amérique, M. le Général?" (*Edward Warren*, 2 vols.; London, 1854, Vol. I, p. 75.) When a representative of the best society can make such a remark, what more need one ask to show the ignorance of the French settlements?

⁸Michaux, André, *Journal of Travels into Kentucky, July 15, 1793-April, 11, 1796*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, edited by R. G. Thwaites, Vol. III, p. 71.

⁹*Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 70.

¹⁰The "apathy, indolence, and poverty" were the result, not of inherent qualities in the people, but of an accumulation of misfortunes, not the least of which was their "Americanization." See my article, "The Poverty of the Illinois French," in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2 (July, 1934), pp. 195-201.

¹¹Volney, C. F., *A View of the Soil and Climate of the United States of America*, translated by C. B. Brown (Philadelphia, 1804), p. 377. Volney is comparing the French of the Illinois country with those of Vincennes. He did not come to Saint Louis and speaks of this place only from hearsay, but he is frequently referred to as a genuine source. Of all the early travellers in the then Far West, Michaux and Volney are the favorites.

as straggling French boating, hunting, and fur establishments, —in manners, in pursuits, and in character, as different from American establishments as can be imagined."¹² The Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach tells us that Saint Louis was settled by French and Canadians from the Illinois who

. lived a long time cut off from the civilized world, and surrounded by Indians They would at length have become savages, had not this territory come into the possession of the United States. Since that time communication and roads have been opened between the United States and Saint Louis.¹³

Captain Basil Hall, a thoughtful commentator, discovered that Saint Louis was "in a remote corner of the globe."¹⁴ Beltrami, an Italian traveller, was conscious that at Saint Louis he was on the "threshold of savage life."¹⁵ Twenty years later (1846) we can still find a writer who says that the growth of Saint Louis was retarded "by the peculiar character of its original inhabitants [but, thank God, they are at last rapidly dying off]."¹⁶ And in this same decade Ruxton speaks of the few short years before "when on the same spot [as this present admirable city of Saint Louis] nothing was to be seen but the miserable hovels of a French village."¹⁷

By careful reference to these sources, the writer of a few pages on early Saint Louis can readily convince a casual reader that the town was no more than a little, crude frontier post of much interest to romanticists but certainly without

¹² *Recollections of the Last Ten Years in the Valley of the Mississippi*, (Boston, 1826), p. 207.

¹³ *Travels Through North America, 1825-1826*, (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1828), Vol. II, p. 96. Such statements are, of course, both naive and ignorant. The Ohio River had long been a highway to the East. There was much communication between Saint Louis and the American towns of Illinois, Kentucky, etc. A casual examination of Alvord's *Cahokia Records* (*Illinois Catholic Historical Collections*, Vol. II) and his *Kaskaskia Records* (*Ibid.*, Vol. V), of the *French and Spanish Archives of St. Louis* (Ms. in Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis), etc., etc., will illustrate this.

¹⁴ *Travels in North America* (3 vols.; Edinburgh, 1829), Vol. III, p. 377.

¹⁵ Beltrami, J. C., *A Pilgrimage in Europe and America*, (2 vols.; London, 1828), Vol. II, p. 124. Beltrami and Hall were both in Saint Louis in the '20s not long after Saxe-Weimar's visit.

¹⁶ Lanman, Charles, *A Summer in the Wilderness*, (New York, 1847), p. 14.

¹⁷ Ruxton, George Frederick, *In the Old West*, edited by Horace Kephart, (Cleveland and New York, 1915), p. 94. He says more to the same effect.

the least cultural advantages. For most Americans the Mississippi Valley in the latter part of the eighteenth century was a vast wilderness inhabited by Indians and fur-bearing animals. Indians of uncertain temper lurked behind every tree awaiting an opportunity to murder innocent white men. Fur-bearing animals went about their business of bearing fur for the profit of a few Frenchmen of uncertain morals who were willing to live in the Indian fashion. Isolated and alone, Saint Louis was merely the focus and as such presented (for study) even more vividly the true conditions.

This, at least, is the picture that many writers have drawn. Whether they have gathered sufficient evidence, whether they have sufficiently examined the modicum of evidence before them, is doubtful.

II

Was Saint Louis isolated? On the face of it such an idea is absurd. It is true that the town was a thousand miles or more away from New Orleans, from the Canadian cities, from the cities of the eastern coast, but one must not too hastily conclude that it was therefore isolated. An isolated community is one which has no communication or contact with the outside world. Did the inhabitants never leave the village? Did no visitors ever come to it? The ridiculous concept of isolation arises out of a complete misunderstanding of the importance of Saint Louis. Two things contributed to this misconception, both for contemporary travellers and for writers today: one was the conditions found existing at Vincennes and in the settlements of the American Bottom; the other was the size of Saint Louis.

Vincennes, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, when Michaux, Volney and others visited them in the late eighteenth century, were not happy or prosperous places; but the thing that these travellers failed to realize and that later writers have astoundingly failed to understand was that these places were then *not French towns* but settlements of French origin which had

*most disastrously passed into the control of the Americans.*¹⁸ Travellers and writers wrongly assumed a parallel which did not exist. Conditions in the American towns were not the same as those across the river.

The other cause of misunderstanding arises from the size of early Saint Louis. In 1772, the total population, including slaves, was only 497; in 1785, it numbered 897; in 1799, 925.¹⁹ A very small town, truly. Yet it is a very great mistake to assume therefore that it was isolated and primitive. This town was not—like those of the early Americans west of the mountains—an ordinary village. It was from the beginning a capital—a commercial and political center. Pittman and Gordon make clear that in 1766 Saint Louis was essentially a commercial town, not an agricultural village. There was so great interest in trading and so little concern for agriculture that the place did not raise sufficient flour and was in derision called "Paincourt." Its whole early history has been that of trade. It was established by Laclede to be the center and controlling place for the fur-trade of the Upper Mississippi. The complaints of the British officers and traders in the years following the cession of 1762 make evident the danger of Saint Louis as a commercial center. How can a center of commerce be cut off from the world? How can such a place be isolated?

But Saint Louis was not merely an important trade-center—it was a capital as well. One may smile at the idea of a village of less than a thousand people being called a capital. But he will smile foolishly. Saint Louis was, from October, 1765, the capital of the upper portion of Louisiana, a territory that stretched from the mouth of the Ohio to the Canadian line, from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains. The population was slight; the territory may have been one of the least of the dependencies of Spain. Nevertheless, eight lieutenant-governors commanded at Saint

¹⁸The detail of evidence is too great to be presented here. See my articles, "The Poverty of the Illinois French," in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2 (July, 1934), pp. 195-201; and "Paincourt and Poverty," in *Mid-America*, Vol. XVI, No. 4 (April, 1934), pp. 210-212.

¹⁹Houck, Louis, *History of Missouri* (3 vols.; Chicago, 1908), Vol. II, pp. 208-209.

Louis in a period of forty years. Where did these men come from? Did they have no contact with New Orleans? It is foolish, indeed, to insist that Saint Louis was ever isolated.

Did no visitors ever pass through the place? Captain Pittman, Captain Harry Gordon, Ensign Hutchins, Lieutenant-Colonel Wilkins, George Rogers Clark, General Harmar, André Michaux, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, General Victor Collot—are we to assume these (of a wide assortment of visitors) refused to answer the questions of the curious and to pass on to the isolated and ignorant inhabitants news of the outside world? Jean Pierre Didier, a refugee from Paris via Gallipolis, came to Saint Louis in the 1790's. So likewise did his brother, the priest. Doctor Antoine Saugrain, another refugee of France and of Gallipolis, came to St. Louis in 1800. Charles de Hault de Lassus, French nobleman, fled the Revolution with his father and brothers, and took refuge in the Spanish Illinois; for the last several years before the Purchase he was lieutenant-governor at Saint Louis. Such a list of visitors through the forty years of Spanish domination (or of new settlers) might be considerably extended.

Pierre Laclede, Auguste Chouteau, Pierre Chouteau, Silvestre Labbadie, Louis Perault, Gregoire Sarpy, Martin Duralde, Louis Dubreuil, Charles Gratiot, Gabriel Cerré, and many others of the principal traders were continually passing up and down the river. Pierre Francois de Volsay in 1774 went to France for two years. In 1793-1794, Charles Gratiot went, via Montreal, to Europe on business for himself and his partners, the Chouteaus. Young Silvestre Labbadie was at college in France when his father died in 1794.

Levasseur's fantastic tale of the people of the Illinois country never having heard of the French Revolution is naively accepted by serious writers who unwittingly give themselves away by quoting, in the same breath, from Michaux. Are they not aware that Michaux was agent of the Revolution? Such writers reinforce the absurdity of their position when they add Collot to their list of condemners. What did Collot represent? For what one purpose did he

make his long tour? Are we to believe that he never said a word of the troubles in France? Was the "sans culottes" society formed in Saint Louis²⁰ composed of people who had never heard of the Revolution?

It is absurd to say that Saint Louis in the eighteenth century was isolated.

III

Was Saint Louis primitive? If those who depend on such quotations as I have cited in the first section of this paper actually examined those sources carefully, they would see another picture. The accuracy of Irving, for instance, is questioned by at least two persons involved in the Astoria affair. Wilson P. Hunt, the partner in command of the overland expedition, told Astor what he thought of Irving's book:

I have had a glimpse today of "Astoria", but have had time only to see some things that would have been well to have been otherwise expressed, what particularly struck me was a description of St. Louis in 1810 (as found by Mr Hunt) which so varies from the situation of the place according to my views, it places me in rather an awkward position. St. Louis was always remarkable since I have known it for a degree of gentility among the better sort of its inhabitants and the correctness with which they spoke French. One would suppose in reading this Book that it had never contained such men as Charles Gratiot, Auguste Chouteau, and many others who were gentlemen in any country. I am sorry my name is blended with a description of merely the Boatmen, Mothies, etc. A review of the proof sheet by some one who knew and could appreciate the character of the place in all things would have been well for the writer and the fame of those concerned.²¹

When Gabriel Franchère published his account of that famous Astoria expedition, he had some comment to make upon Irving's description of the town:

²⁰In his secret orders to Don Carlos Howard (1796), Baron Carondelet informs him that the inhabitants of the Spanish Illinois country have gone so far as to form a secret society "under the name of Sansculottes." Houck, Louis, *The Spanish Regime in Missouri* (2 vols.; Chicago, 1909), Vol. II, pp. 125, 131.

²¹Wilson P. Hunt to John Jacob Astor, St. Louis, November 16, 1836, in *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. VI, No. 3 (1931), pp. 324-325.

. . . . although it forms no part of the narrative of my voyage, yet as subsequent visits to the West and an intimate knowledge of St. Louis, enable me to correct Mr. Irving's poetical rather than accurate description of that place, I may well do it here Mr. Irving describes her as a small trading place, where trappers, half-breeds, gay, frivolous Canadian boatmen, &c., &c., congregated and revelled, with that lightness and buoyancy of spirit inherited from their French fore-fathers; the indolent Creole of St. Louis caring for little more than the enjoyment of the present hour; a motley population half-civilized, half-barbarous, thrown, on his canvas, into one general, confused (I allow highly *pictur-esque*) mass without respect of persons; but it is fair to say, with due homage to the talent of the sketcher, who has verged slightly on caricature in the use of that humor-loving pencil admired by all the world, that St. Louis even then contained its noble, industrious, and I may say, princely merchants; it could boast its *Chouteaus*, *Soulards* [sic], *Céré*, *Chéniers*, *Vallées*, and *Lacroix*, with other kindred spirits²³

When we read carefully Levasseur's account of the brief stay at Saint Louis, we discover that he was indeed aware of the wilderness, but that what he really said was, "The splendid decorations of the [ball] room, and the beauty of the ladies who graced it, made us completely forget that we were on the confines of a wilderness."²⁴ Further, no matter what remarks he made about the settlements in the American Bottom, it is clear that he did not apply them to Saint Louis:

. . . . Into what astonishment is the mind thrown on reflecting that such a height of prosperity is the result of but a few years, and that the founder of so flourishing a city still lives This enterprising man [Auguste Chouteau] . . . raised the first house, about which, in so short a time, were grouped the edifices of a rich city It was highly interesting to behold seated at the table the founder of a great city²⁵

It is quite evident that Levasseur did not consider Saint Louis when he saw it a primitive place.

It is so with the other witnesses previously cited. Beltrami said: "The evening before last I was at a very brilliant ball, where the ladies were so pretty, and so well dressed, that they made me forget I was on the threshold of savage life."²⁶

²³*Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America, in Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, edited by R. G. Thwaites, Vol. VI, p. 403.

²⁴Levasseur, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 128.

²⁵*Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 127-128.

²⁶Beltrami, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 124.

Captain Hall admitted that "we were most kindly entertained by the inhabitants [of Saint Louis], who got up some particularly agreeable parties to meet us, in a style of elegance we certainly never expected to find in so remote a corner of the globe."²⁶

IV

In my brief consideration of the culture of early Saint Louis I have devoted myself to an attack upon the validity of the evidence usually offered to show the lack of culture in that place. Certainly a thorough examination of the travelers' comment makes clear that the town was neither isolated nor primitive. The positive evidence is of such great volume that I cannot present it in detail here. I shall simply indicate something of its nature as represented by private libraries.

When Henry Marie Brackenridge came to the West in 1810 (he went up the Missouri river with Manuel Lisa at the same time that the famous Astorian expedition pushed off), he visited Auguste Chouteau "and was introduced to one of the largest private libraries I had ever seen." He made use of the library and tells us, "Here I found several of the early writers of travels and descriptions of Louisiana, such as Lahontan, Lafiteau, Heneper [sic], Charlevoix, etc. . . . I spent some hours in the day in examining this fine collection."²⁷ Auguste Chouteau died in 1829, four years after Levasseur discovered the unexpected on the confines of the wilderness. At his death he left more than six hundred volumes. Among other (and perhaps earlier)

²⁶Hall, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 377. The simplicity of many travellers is amusingly illustrated by the experience of Eugene Ney, a Frenchman, who visited Saint Louis in 1832. He expected apparently to shoot buffalo from the back window of his lodgings. He was astonished to discover that he could not "faire la chasse aux bisons" at that town, because the creatures had long disappeared from the vicinity. He was told, poor man, that he must make a river journey of one thousand miles if he wished to join a buffalo hunt. The confines of a wilderness are extensive! (Ney, Eugene, "Voyage sur le Mississippi," in *Revue des deux mondes*, Ser. 2, tom. 1 (1833), pp. 469-489.) I could cite a great deal more travellers' evidence to support my contention that Saint Louis was early a center of cultured society, but for the time I will rest content with the citations given above.

²⁷*Recollections of Persons and Places in the West* (2nd edition; Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1868), pp. 230-231.

private libraries were those of Pierre Laclede (died 1778) of more than two hundred volumes; Condé (1778) seventy-two volumes; Hubert (1778), more than forty-five volumes; Leyba (1780), seventy-four volumes; Dubrueil (1796), ninety-seven volumes; Père Didier (1799), more than two hundred and sixty volumes; Cerré (inventoried 1802), more than sixty-eight volumes. There were other private libraries in Saint Louis, and more in Ste. Genevieve.²⁸ Allowing for duplicates of all sorts, I estimate that there must have been at least one thousand individual volumes. History, politics, economics, law, travel, geography, religion, science, literature, philosophy, are among the subjects represented in these libraries. These are the things read by an indolent, unprogressive people in the backwoods.

It begins to be obvious, I think, that Saint Louis was neither isolated nor primitive. The town on the confines of the wilderness was, rather, a center of culture unusual in its time and place.

²⁸The details for these libraries come from the *French and Spanish Archives of Saint Louis* (Mss. in Library of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis). I am now making an extensive analysis of all of this library material and hope to publish it in the near future.

DEGREES GRANTED BY EARLY COLLEGES
IN MISSOURI

BY E. A. COLLINS

The graduate of our modern college thinks of the degree granted him as representing a certain number of years of work or a number of college hours credit. The Baccalaureate, Master of Arts, or Doctorate have a certain definite meaning regardless of the institution from which they were granted. Degrees have not always been thus standardized.

A study of the catalogues of colleges and schools in existence in Missouri prior to 1900 reveals varied requirements for degrees. The curricula of the schools granting the Bachelor's Degree varied widely. The requirements for this degree ranged from the equivalent of a two-year secondary school to four years of standard college work.¹

It was a common practice for the Missouri legislature and county courts which granted the charters to show their liberality by stating that the school should have power to grant all degrees, either literary, scientific, or honorary, granted by any college or university in the United States.²

High schools were given the same privileges in their charters as were colleges and universities. Such schools as Brazeau High School, Weston High School, Tipton High School, and Dover High School are examples of those given permission to grant degrees.³

Some teachers resented this indiscriminate granting of degrees without regard to the curriculum completed. In 1893 the catalogue of the Maryville Seminary carried this statement:

No degree is conferred by this institution. Our course of study is more extended than some "Colleges" conferring the A. B. or A. M. degrees and quite equal to any in this part of the country doing so, but we stick to our business of a Seminary. Among cultured and scholarly

¹Collins, E. A., *The Classification of the Chartered Schools of Missouri*, pp. 92-116. (Peabody Contribution to Education No. 30.)

²*Ibid.*, p. 67.

³*Ibid.*, p. 21.

people everywhere the Bachelor's Degree has a specific meaning. Good as our course of study is it does not entitle us to confer degrees and remain honest and true to the recognized code. We do not believe in the sign of the thing without the thing. Better be a scholar without a degree, than a pretender with a degree.⁴

The Elizabeth Aull Female Seminary is another that seemed to maintain a high standard for degrees. Although the charter granted by the Missouri legislature gave "full collegiate privileges," and the catalogue stated that the degrees would be granted, the catalogue of 1872 confessed,

Our standards are so high we have never yet conferred either of our Baccalaureate Degrees.⁵

The school was then under the presidency of Professor J. A. Quarles, President and Professor of Mental Sciences. At a later date, the catalogue of this school stated,

Because the Bachelors and Mistress Degrees have proven beyond the reach of the western pupil, a new degree of *Seminary Degree of Maid of Science* was established.⁶

In most cases the Master's Degree was granted *honoris causa*. Candidates were compelled to serve a three years apprenticeship after receiving the Bachelor's Degree before this honor would be granted.

The Degree of Master of Arts is conferred three years or more after graduation on such bachelors as have in the meantime been engaged in some literary occupation. The trustees may also confer any of the usual honorary degrees and titles. A \$5.00 fee is charged for each degree.⁷

The Western College⁸, Watson Seminary⁹, Southwest Baptist College¹⁰, Ozark College, Greenfield, Missouri¹¹, Odessa College¹², Lewis College¹³, Hannibal College¹⁴, and

⁴Catalogue Maryville Seminary, 1892-93.

⁵Catalogue Elizabeth Aull Female Seminary, 1872.

⁶Ibid., 1879-80.

⁷Catalogue Sedalia University, 1882-83.

⁸Catalogue Western College, 1890-91.

⁹Catalogue Watson Seminary, 1889-90.

¹⁰Catalogue Southwest Baptist College, 1892-93.

¹¹Catalogue Ozark College, 1883-84.

¹²Catalogue Odessa College, 1885-86.

¹³Catalogue Lewis College, 1881-82.

¹⁴Catalogue Hannibal College, 1875.

Clarksburg College¹⁵ were among those which conferred the A. M. Degree to those who had maintained a good moral character and engaged in some scientific or literary pursuit for a period of three years after graduation.

The M. S. Degree was granted generally on the same conditions. The Weaubleau Christian Institute made this statement concerning the M. S. Degree:

The Degree of M. S. will be conferred upon those hereafter engaged for three years in professional work, and [who have] maintained a good reputation.¹⁶

Not all Master's Degrees were granted *honoris causa*. Avalon College, located at Trenton, Missouri, demanded a thesis for the Master's Degree but made no requirement for the standard year of resident work above the bachelors as is required today.

The degrees of M. S. and M. A. will be conferred on application only of Bachelors of three years standing. Besides satisfactory evidence of additional attainment, the applicant must present, at least one month before the close of the college year a thesis upon some literary or scientific topic approved by the faculty.¹⁷

The Monticello Seminary varied this procedure somewhat and more nearly met the present day standards.

The A. M. Degree will be granted for completing one year additional study and three years professional life and on delivering a Master's oration.¹⁸

A year of graduate study was the requirement set up by the Central Christian College of Albany, Missouri, for the Master's Degree.

The Master's Degree will be conferred upon regular graduates of this or other colleges of equal grade on presentation of an approved thesis and the completion of a year's graduate study in one or more departments under the direction of the faculty.¹⁹

¹⁵Catalogue Clarksburg College, 1884-85.

¹⁶Catalogue Weaubleau Christian Institute, 1884-85.

¹⁷Catalogue Avalon College, 1895-96. Avalon College was founded at Avalon in 1869. The school was moved to Trenton in 1891. About 1900 it became Ruskin College. (See: Collins, E. A., "The Multitude Incorporated," in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (July, 1933), pp. 303-304.)

¹⁸Catalogue Monticello Seminary, 1882-83.

¹⁹Catalogue Central Christian College, 1897-98.

This requirement is more nearly the equivalent of the present day standards.

Even the requirements for the standard medical degree were rather lax in comparison with present day demands. The degree of M. D. was granted in the early days by the Missouri Medical College of St. Louis to students who had studied medicine three years under a reputable medical practitioner. The student was required to present a thesis for graduation written in either English, French or Latin and to pass a satisfactory examination. In addition to this, attendance at two full courses of lectures in that institution was required.²⁰

The Humboldt Institute of St. Louis would grant the M. D. degree to anyone who was 21 years of age and who possessed a fair preliminary education and on the completion of a two-years' course in that institution. The first year of this work might be taken in some other institution. The candidate must present an original dissertation on a medical subject in Latin or one of the modern languages. He must pass a satisfactory examination.²¹

The Marion-Sims College of Medicine of St. Louis would grant the D. D. S. Degree to any candidate upon the presentation of a "satisfactory case of artificial dentistry."²²

It can be seen that there was a wide range of requirements for degrees among the early schools. The graduate degree of Master of Arts was almost wholly honorary. The varied requirements of the early schools were the evolution of what we now think of as the standard degrees. It was not until a later date that schools submitted to the modern standardizing agency. This does not mean that high class work was not done within many of these schools, but it could not be proven that because a school offered degrees that its curricula was the equivalent of a modern four-year college.

²⁰ Catalogue Missouri Medical College, 1858-59.

²¹ Catalogue Humboldt Institute, 1859-60.

²² Catalogue Marion-Sims College of Medicine, 1895-96.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF FICTION ON THE MISSOURI FRONTIER (1830-1860)

BY CARLE BROOKS SPOTTS

THIRD ARTICLE

CHAPTER II

THE SHORT STORY

I

The most skillful of the writers of short narrative in Missouri before 1840 was Alphonso Wetmore. Perhaps because he published no book of fiction and because his best work is buried in the Appendix to his *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri* (1837) and in local newspapers he has received scant notice by the literary critics. The facts of his life may be pieced together from various contemporary records, especially from several autobiographical sketches.

By the time he was nineteen years old he had been in the War of 1812 and had lost an arm in the service. Three years later he was appointed paymaster of the Sixth regiment, a position that he held for eighteen years, and one that gave him ample opportunity to observe and experience frontier life.¹ He emphasizes the hardships of this period in his "Memorial to Congress." He tells there of making the "most perilous journeys, through prairies, in the Indian country to almost all the Western posts . . ." He had to "pack specie through the Indian country to Council Bluffs The almost trackless wilderness through which the route of your petitioner lay, was cut with an infinite number of streams that were rarely fordable; and his invention was constantly put to the test in the construction

¹"Memorial of Alphonso Wetmore to the twenty-fourth Congress, first session, for a reconsideration of his claim . . ." (Dated May 11, 1836, Gales & Seaton, Printers), pp. 3-5; *Daily People's Organ*, Jan. 26, 1842; Frederick L. Billon, *Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days from 1804 to 1821* (St. Louis, 1888), p. 96.

of bark canoes, in the formation of rafts, and in the fabrication of skin boats, the last of which being made portable, were preferred; and it was not an uncommon practice, when arriving on the bank of some private stream, to go out and slay an elk, and make a boat of his skin."²

Of his education and reading we know nothing except that he was acquainted with Cooper's hero, whom he refers to as "Netty Bumpo," with Rosinante in *Don Quixote*, with Lawrence Sterne, and with Franklin. His vocabulary indicates rather wide reading. He also practiced law after his retirement from the army.

He resigned his army position in 1833, and settled in New Franklin. By 1837 we find him in St. Louis practicing law, writing for periodicals, and publishing his *Gazetteer of Missouri*. He died June 13, 1849, during a severe epidemic of cholera.³

As early as 1821 Wetmore produced a play, *The Pedlar*, "a Farce in Three Acts. Written for the St. Louis Thespians, by Whom it was Performed with Great Applause." Two other performances of this play have been discovered, one at Lexington, Kentucky, in 1825 and another at St. Louis in 1835.⁴

During 1822 and 1823 he wrote verse, sketches, and expositions of frontier life for the *Missouri Intelligencer*. The most noted of the sketches was that of Michael Shuckwell ("Mike Shuck"), who is given "as a sample of these volunteer Barbarians" who followed Daniel Boone to Missouri. It appeared under the title "The Beaver Hunter" and was signed "Aurora Borealis." The sketch is calmly

²"Memorial to Congress," pp. 3-4. This petition was made in an attempt to be freed from responsibility of the loss of part of a payroll, lost while he was descending the Missouri at night during a heavy storm with a drunken clerk, three disabled soldiers and a sick man. (*loc. cit.*)

³*Missouri Statesman*, June 22, 1849. For other facts of his life see the following in addition to the references already given: *Gazetteer of Missouri* Preface; Letter to Senator Benton on the Mexican trade and the Santa Fe Trail, *Missouri Intelligencer*, June 19, 1829; a letter to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War in President Jackson's Cabinet, on the Santa Fe trade and his own diary of the journey, reprinted with notes by Professor F. F. Stephens, *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (July, 1914); Scharf, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 1615; Breckenridge, *op. cit.*, p. 258; R. G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904), Vol. 26, p. 31.

⁴Rusk, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 421, note.

biographical in tone and probably without exaggeration or adornment. Yet it was reprinted widely.⁵

The second Wetmore article on "The Beaver Hunter"⁶ was the result of an interview with Mike Shuck. Again there was no attempt to make a legendary character out of him. Probably the actual frontier character was still too near for exaggerated tales. Neither sketch is, strictly speaking, a short story.

The Mike Shuck sketches are decidedly inferior to the stories appended to Wetmore's *Gazetteer*. During the more than a decade intervening he seems to have developed a light, semi-humorous style that harmonizes well with the tall tales he relates. In preparation for this volume he traveled over Missouri on horseback, meeting and talking with people in all of the settlements. Realistic sketches of frontier characters, based on fact, are interspersed throughout the main text of the book. They are the raw materials of the Western short story. For example, there is the "frontier genius of the Crockett Species," who calls himself the "Ring-tail Painter." Descending the Missouri on his way to the Legislature, his boat collapsed. Asked if his little son had not been alarmed, he said:

No, madam, I am a real ring-tail painter [that is, panther] and I feed all my children on rattlesnake hearts, fried in painter's grease We raised a yell like a whole team of bar-dogs on a wildcat's trail; and the black rascals on the shore only grinned up the nearest saplin as if a buck possum had treed. Now, madam, I wish God Almighty's yearthquakes would sink Hardeman's d—ned plantation—begging your pardon for swearing, madam maybe you wouldn't like me to spit on this kiverlid you have spread on the floor to keep it clean; I'll go to the door⁷

⁵ *Missouri Intelligencer*, Oct. 29, 1822; reprinted, *ibid.*, Nov. 13, 1829, where the real author is revealed; also reprinted in Flint's *Western Monthly Review*, Jan., 1830, and in the *Kentucky Gazette*, sometime before January 14, 1823. It probably appeared also in other places.

⁶ *Missouri Intelligencer*, Feb. 11, 1823.

⁷ Wetmore, *Gazetteer*, pp. 90-91. *The History of Saline County, Missouri* (St. Louis, 1881), compiled by the Missouri Historical Company, indicates that the character was Martin Palmer. He was one of the first representatives of Howard county in the legislature. (*House Journal*, 1st General Assembly, 1st Session, 1820, p. 5.) "He was uneducated, unpolished, profane, pugilistic, . . . [and] invariably half-drunk." He was engaged in a fist fight with members of the legislature at the first session and knocked down Governor McNair, who tried to make peace. Later Palmer was a member of the council of the Republic of Texas. (*History of Saline County* (1881), p. 204.)

Unlike Timothy Flint and James Hall in much of their work, Wetmore did not forget his knowledge of frontier characters when he came to write fiction. He seldom substitutes a Chateaubriand version of frontier life for the one he knows so well.

That Wetmore knew life among the settlers on the frontier and could report it is well illustrated by the story, "The Dead Husband."⁸ In technique it is faulty, as are most of Wetmore's tales, resembling a condensed novel rather than a short story of the type produced by Poe and Hawthorne. On the other hand, a rough unity is attained by the fact that each of the adventures is brought about by the quarrelsome nature of Joseph Joplin when he is under the influence of whiskey.

The story presents this young bully suddenly leaving the County of Buncombe, North Carolina, and settling with his bride in the wilderness "six miles from the last cabin, on the borders of the Indian Country, in season to make a crop." After the "corn was gathered in, the fall hunt half finished, the venison drying, and the 'bear bacon' cured" the Indians make an attack. The Joplins retreat.

As the second episode begins they are trying life on a different frontier. After a few years they reach a state of tolerable prosperity. But Joplin has found leisure to attend all gatherings and always gets into a fight. His promises of reform are soon forgotten. The inevitable happens.

About the hour of midnight, the "whole team of bear-dogs" opened a boisterous greeting as the roistering captain approached his cabin. The cold bacon, and cabbage, and buttermilk were set out by the flickering light of a *Corinthian* tallow peach-wick candle, and the meal was dispatched in silence. When the gentleman from Buncombe had picked his teeth with his pocketknife, he whispered an appalling secret in the ear of his wife. She drew a long sigh of resignation, wiped her eyes with a corner of her apron, and began packing his saddle-bags, while Joseph Joplin cleaned his "rifle-gun," which he called "Patsy," after his wife. He had finished trimming the bullets he had cast, when, all things being ready, he rose to depart.

"Joseph Joplin," said his wife, "I always allowed it would come to this; but the Lord's will be done." In reply, the captain briefly remarked,

⁸Wetmore's *Gazetteer*, pp. 281-295; also reprinted in *Knickerbocker Magazine*, November, 1837.

that, "If he don't die of the stab I give him, Mike Target will pass me the word when the boys go out into the bee-woods. I leave you everything but the colt and my bear-dog *Gall-buster*; and so as I never comes back, tell the boys 'tis my wish that they never gives the lie, nor takes it."⁹

After other troubles he removes his family to the Ozarks, where he finally dies of the "dumb ague." Like most of Wetmore's characters Joplin has the qualities of the front-line frontiersman: love of adventure, of fighting, of whiskey, and the general tendency to glorify the physical, whether found in man or beast. Yet Joplin has enough of the enigmatical in his personality to make us believe that a real back-woodsman sat for the portrait.

The tendency toward mere local color—the emphasis on the superficially picturesque—is not prominent in the best of Wetmore's tales. He knew frontier cabin life from long acquaintance and his picture is neither Arcadian nor depressing. He realized, perhaps, that the frontier men and women soon became accustomed to the hardships they were forced to endure, and that the men, at least, found the adventure and the prospects exciting.

His characters have much of the universal in them. There is a touch of poignancy in the child's inquiry in "The Dead Husband": "Are you going to leave Daddy?" and in the wife's haunting memory and recurring desire to give the husband decent burial. Human also are her efforts to hang on to a few rags of civilization—"a comb, a chapter, and a clean apron" on Sunday.

As the cabin life of the frontiersman is pictured in "The Dead Husband," so life in the small frontier villages is reflected in "The Village Gathering"¹⁰ and "Annals of the Shop."¹¹ The first of these sketches gives us a view of the eagerness with which the inhabitants of frontier settlements receive any type of amusement. Four lumbering wagons arrive in town with a tent and a few wild animals for a show. People pay admittance, the cracked violin, clarinet, and bass drum play "Jennie, Put the Kettle on," and "Mrs. Trollope's

⁹Wetmore, *Gazetteer*, pp. 284-285.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 295-299.

¹¹*Ibid.*, pp. 335-341.

March,"¹² the animals are paraded around the tent, and the show is over. The tired travel-worn animals are contrasted with the eager interest of the spectators.

"Annals of the Shop" is a sketch of a man who is a doctor, "justice of the peace, notary public, postmaster, colonel of train-bands, and representative of his county in the general assembly" In this post office—as well as "notary, squire's doctor's and colonel's office, the business calls and professional transactions were important and multifarious." The annals of one evening's business are humorously described. The proprietor's good-natured parrying of foolish questions and his way of satisfying everyone in the briefest possible manner is skillfully set down. Appended to the sketch without artistic justification is the practical-joke type of story told about a gambler who was across the street in the "pot-house grocery," "dead fall," or saloon.

Two of the stories in the *Gazetteer* deal with Indian life. Both are concerned with the practice among the Omahas, Pawnees, and other Indian tribes of taking a captive Indian girl from an enemy tribe and burning her at the stake as a sort of religious ceremony. "The Pawnee Sacrifice" is an authentic narrative of an unsuccessful attempt by army officers to break up such a sacrifice. As it is fact rather than fiction, it will not be considered here.¹³

"The Biography of Blackbird,"¹⁴ Indian chief of the Omahas, is a good short story. It tells how the chief manages to get autocratic power over his tribe—with the aid of his medicine man and some crude arsenic from St. Louis. But his power proves less effective in freeing a captive Pawnee girl, whom the tribe was going to burn at the stake, than his son's strategy. Spit Cloud, the son, falls in love with the

¹²This march is one of the songs ridiculing Mrs. Frances Trollope (mother of the English novelist), who had criticized America and particularly the frontier in her *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (N. Y., 1832). Cf. Rourke, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

¹³Wetmore, *Gazetteer*, pp. 341-350. Probably no form of narrative was so plentiful on the frontier as the stories of Indian attacks. As they are not fiction, they are not included in this study. They lack the imaginative details of characterization as well as the artistic form of fiction.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 299-307.

maiden, escapes with her, and remains away until he is able to return as chief of the Omahas. Thus, the story combines a romantic Indian love story with realistic details of the crafty methods of Indian chiefs. The expository purpose of some of the descriptions is somewhat too evident, but the story as a whole is well told and the action well unified.

Wetmore was too well acquainted with the Indians to have any illusions about them or to romanticize them unduly. That he was interested in seeing them justly treated is indicated in an article called "Back Woods Excursion" in the *Missouri Intelligencer*, October 8, 1822. Later he says realistically, "An opinion is gaining ground among those who take the trouble to think on the subject, that to improve materially the condition of Indians, they must first be governed, then civilized, and afterwards Christianized."¹⁵ In another place he speaks ironically of the "gallant, high-minded, persecuted, gentlemen Indians" who have killed two sleeping white men.¹⁶

Finally, the volume contains a kind of narrative that has come to be considered typical of the early frontier—the stories told by hunters and trappers. Wetmore's narrative of this type, called "Sketch of Mountain Life," was probably made up of his own personal experiences and the adventures of others who ascended the Missouri to trap beaver. The trapper Gall Buster is the narrator of the first series of adventures, and Jonas Cutting, "a Downeaster," who accompanied the trapper, tells a story of New England witchcraft, and a second series of adventures. The three narratives are knit together by a device not unlike that used in the *Canterbury Tales*, and are called respectively, "Sketch of Mountain Life," "Tale of Witchcraft," and "Some Account of Another Hunt."¹⁷

Gall Buster, like so many of his occupation, had been constantly moving to escape the more permanent settlers who crowded after. He says, "I was born in the county of Culpepper, in the commonwealth of Virginia. I was raised

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 350.

¹⁶Wetmore's "Letter to Lewis Cass . . ." *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (July, 1914), p. 191.

¹⁷Wetmore, *Gazetteer*, pp. 307-334.

in North Carolina, got religion in Tennessee, married in Madison County, Kentucky, and emigrated and settled in Missouri in 'early times'." But before winter six families had settled within six miles; so, when he had obtained Patsy's consent to move, he sold his "improvements for a good rifle gun." After several more moves he reaches the western part of Missouri and the Indian reservations.

Sometimes the language used by Gall Buster and his Yankee partner, Jonas Cutting, seems a bit too learned, but, on the whole, it is quite convincing. A few examples will indicate the manner in which the stories are told.

I will now resume the narrative of my mountain adventure in early life . . . When the wars were at an end [probably the War of 1812], and I had made some improvements on the place I had blazed out for my home, I began to feel unsatisfied with the farming business, and a sort of honing after game . . . Patsy allowed I mought as well stay at home, and lead a quiet life, and be independent; but there was little to be made in raising a crop in the summer, and eating it up in the winter. Both ends might be made to meet in this way; but it would be the "little end of the horn." When I left Patsy and the children, I told her it was neck or nothing with me; that I was tired of being poor; beaver was rising, and there was smart sprinkle in the mountains . . . When I left home my corn was gathered, and I told Patsy I would get back in the spring by late crapping time, if my hunt didn't "hang fire," but she mought look for me on Christmas day, any how!!¹⁸

Another example of the diction and general skill at narrative will be taken from one of the hunting experiences. Returning to camp one night the trappers see a black bear up a tree.

I felt a honing after a little *barr* meat, such as I had fed on in my infancy, and I slipped round so as to bring the game between me and the moon, and I touched him *delicate*. When the gun cracked, old darkee went ahead, cracking the dry limbs like a hurycane, or a horse loose in a canebrake, to the end of the chapter, the top of the tree. When all was silent I began to examine for sign, and I perceived something was trickling down upon the leaves at the foot of the tree, like eaves-dropping in a still rainy night. "Stand from under, Jonas," said I, and the next instant a rustling was heard above, then a sharp crackling of limbs, and finally a black mass was seen descending that jarred the earth we stood on when it reached the ground. It was as pretty a piece of flesh as ever

¹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 309-310.

greased a gridiron. It was a match for the best buffalo hump meat I had ever tasted. It was nearly as good as elk marrow and dried venison. After supper we placed the carcass of this barr a little distance from our feet, and went to sleep. About midnight I was awakened by the champing of teeth, a sound that I understood as well as an infant does the lullaby. I opened one eye at a time, fearing I might alarm my visitor by any sudden or indiscreet movement. There he stood, an old white barr, feeding on the carcass of the black one. My gun was under my blanket, and the breech near my right shoulder. As I lay on my back with "Sweet-lips" on my right hand, and my bedfellow on my left, I drew her up and cocked her, fearing that if I fired without awakening Jonas, he might bark up the wrong sapling, I turned my head, and whispered in his ear, "Jonas, there's a horse of an old grizzle *holping* himself to some of old blackee; dog eat dog, I say—lie low—keep dark, and I'll touch him *party particular*. The triggers are set, and old "Sweet-lips" will crack in a little less than no time; now lie still!" But instead of lying still, when Jonas got about half awake, he headed himself up on end, like a tobacco hogshead on a flat boat, and old grizzle came ahead with his mouth wide open, like a countryman in town for the first time. There seemed to be no time for chat, and Jonas seized a beaver-skin that lay near his head with his left hand, and rammed into the mouth of the barr. The rattling of the dry pelt, and the sudden movement of Jonas, together with the convulsive glaring of his half-conscious eyeballs, alarmed the assailant, and he fled . . . "That was cute and providential!" said Jonas . . . "There was a saving of ammunition . . . " and he began to sing a national anthem in the following words:-

Father and I went down to camp,
Along with Capting Gooding
And there we saw the red-cheeked gals
As thick as hasty pudding.¹⁹

Both the first section of the "Sketch" told by Gall Buster and the third told by Jonas Cutting are made up of a series of such adventures. Interspersed are the jokes on the Yankee, who is somewhat inexperienced at trapping. He carries a cook book and a peddler's pack. He never accepts the accustomed way of doing things but experiments for himself. He is a jack of all trades. His singing is marvelous indeed. The Indians leave, fearing some trick, and many a bear scampers at his singing of "Old Hundred." The tradition of the New Englander with his pack and his ingenuity and shrewdness had apparently reached the Missouri frontier early.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 316-317.

The most artistic of the tales is the "Tale of Witchcraft,"²⁰ which is told by Jonas while the trappers await the possible return of the white bear. The story relates the way in which Granny Groat, supposed witch, turns the tables on her persecutors from church and state. The narrative is modern in its unity. It centers attention on one main incident, and Granny, herself, is the only character of prominence. All the events lead up to the climax—her trial.

This story appeared just five years before Poe's famous pronouncement on the short story, the review of Hawthorne's *Twice-Told Tales*, which was published in *Graham's Magazine*, May, 1842. Yet, as is obvious from the quotations given, Alphonso Wetmore has not the genius of a Poe or a Hawthorne in the short story field. The main value in his work lies in the record he has given us of the extreme frontier. One of the earliest in the field, he gives us in a light, genial, often humorous manner, glimpses of frontier character and experience that would be difficult to duplicate from the writings of any other author of his time.

(To be continued)

²⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 318-328.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF LEAD MINING IN MISSOURI

BY RUBY JOHNSON SWARTZLOW

THIRD ARTICLE

THE SPANISH PERIOD (1770-1800)

By 1763 France had given up most of her possessions on the American continent. All the territory east of the Mississippi except New Orleans had been ceded to Great Britain. By the secret treaty of Fontainebleau of November 3, 1762, Louisiana had been ceded to Spain by France. Thus the lead mining region of the present State of Missouri came under the control of the Spanish.

The secret cession to Spain was not made known to the colonists immediately. It was not until April, 1764, when a letter of the king was sent to D'Abbadie (then governor of Louisiana) directing him to give up to the officers of Spain the country and colony of Louisiana with the city of New Orleans and all the military posts, that the news, which had been rumored among the French colonists, was officially confirmed to them.⁴⁴

Even then, it was some time before the Spaniards assumed control of their newly acquired territory. The delay of Spain in taking possession of New Orleans finally ended when Don Antonio de Ulloa arrived in 1766, with two companies of Spanish infantry under the command of Piernas. It was in 1770 that Upper Louisiana was taken over by the Spanish officers.⁴⁵

The new Spanish governor introduced the Spanish colonial system in part, but most of the subordinate offices were filled by Frenchmen because there was practically no Spanish population. The colony was divided into Upper and Lower Louisiana. There was a lieutenant governor for Upper Louisiana who resided at St. Louis and who was ap-

⁴⁴Stoddard, Amos, *Historical Sketches of Louisiana*, p. 71.

⁴⁵Stoddard, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

pointed by the governor and was responsible to him. Under the lieutenant governor and appointed by him were the various commandants for the five districts into which Upper Louisiana was later divided, namely, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, New Madrid, Cape Girardeau, and St. Charles.⁴⁶

The policy of the Spanish government was one of leniency. It allowed settlers to retain their customs and usages and further agreed to confirm their grants of land. Hence, the French settlers quickly accustomed themselves to the idea of being under Spanish rule when they found that it had no influence on their everyday habits of living.⁴⁷

At the time the Spanish took control of the country of Upper Louisiana the west side of the Mississippi was very sparsely settled. Although there was temporary occupation of regions where mines had been opened it is probable that the miners had their homes either in Ste. Genevieve or in the Illinois Country across the Mississippi. Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis were the only settlements which are known to have existed in Missouri at the time when the Spanish gained control.⁴⁸

During the first part of the Spanish period, the authorities did not solicit settlers for Upper Louisiana. However, toward the close of the eighteenth century they began to desire population as a check on the English from Canada. Hence, the Spanish government began to encourage settlers to come from the United States.⁴⁹

To attract immigration they offered land to settlers exempt from taxes if they paid the fees incident to surveys. These fees amounted to approximately forty-one dollars for eight hundred acres, not including the fee for confirmation at New Orleans. Mineral lands were not reserved from sale by the Spanish government but, on the contrary, the government encouraged the settlement of the country by miners

⁴⁶Violette, E. M., "Spanish Land Claims in Missouri," *Washington Univ. Studies*, Vol. VIII, No. 2 (1921), pp. 169-171.

⁴⁷Stoddard, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

⁴⁸Viles, J., "Population and Extent of Settlement in Missouri in 1804," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. V, No. 4 (July, 1911), pp. 200, 201, 205.

⁴⁹Stoddard, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

and also urged that the lead mines be exploited.⁵⁰ The prospect of mineral riches, the fertility of the lands, and the liberal encouragement of the Spanish government brought immigrants into the region steadily in the latter part of the eighteenth century.⁵¹

The following table is a compilation of figures taken from statistical reports of population and production which were made by the Spanish officers who were in charge of affairs at St. Louis. The documents were found in the General Archives of the Indies at Seville and translations are given in Houck's *Spanish Regime*. The statistics are incomplete, because they are extant for scattering years only, but they are nevertheless invaluable and represent the most important source for the Spanish period.

⁵⁰ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. VI, p. 711.

⁵¹ Viles, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-204, 207.

REPORTS OF POPULATION AND PRODUCTION FOR STE. GENEVIEVE DISTRICT.

Year.	Total pop.	Lead prod. (lbs.)	Wheat (bu.)	Corn (bu.)	Tobacco (lbs.)	Salt (bu.)
1769 ^a	50 or 60	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1769 ^b	600	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1772 ^c	691	60,025	.....	.....	.....	.....
1773 ^d	676	17,800	.....	.....	.....	.....
1774 ^e . . . . .	.....	100	.....	.....	.....	.....
1775 ^f . . . . .	.....	No lead report.	.....	.....	.....	.....
1785 ^g	594	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1787 ^h	657	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1788 ⁱ	896	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1791 ^j	973	216,000	11,385	25,650	17,830	13,000
1795 ^k	1,002	327,300	10,870	30,980	3,740	5,400
1796 ^l	1,156	219,000	13,585	46,190	600	800
1799 ^m	1,509	170,000	18,080	35,750	300	965
1800 ⁿ	1,792	438,080	14,325	48,071	6,865	11,070

^a Houck, *Spanish Regime*, Vol. I, p. 62, 63.

^b *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 70-72.

^c *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 53-55. Lead is reported in quintals; a quintal is a hundred-weight. In the above table it has been reduced to pounds.

^d *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 61, 87.

^e *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 93.

^f *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 101.

^g Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, Vol. III, p. 170.

^h Missouri Historical Society Archives as reported by Viles, "Population and Extent of Settlement in Missouri Before 1804," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. V, p. 202.

ⁱ Gayarré, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 215.

^j Houck, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 365-368, 387.

^k *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 324-326. Report of wheat, corn, and salt is given in minots in the documents. A minot was an old French measure equal to about 1.106 bushels.

^l *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 140-143.

^m *American State Papers, Miscellaneous*, Vol. I, p. 383.

ⁿ Houck, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Facsimile.

The lead production reported in the table is the lead which was shipped to New Orleans from Ste. Genevieve. The lead was carried from the interior by pack horse or crude

wagon to Ste. Genevieve where it was loaded for the water trip to New Orleans.

The first documentary report on the production of lead was made by Piernas on December 31, 1772. The report gives the amount of lead shipped to New Orleans and the name of the men who shipped it:

Lead in Quintals ¹²	
Antonio Berar.....	73.75
Enrique Carpartier.....	40.00
Benito Vasquez.....	8.50
Esteban Barre.....	313.50
Pablo Segond.....	41.00
Diego Forten.....	112.50
Monsieur Fago.....	11.00
 Total.....	 600.25

A survey of the table shows that there was a decided drop in the amount of lead exported in 1774 from the amount sent out in 1773. In 1775 no lead is reported as being exported. A notation in the report of Francisco Cruzat for 1775 gives the following explanation for the fact that no lead was sent out during that year:

Since the Cheraquis Indians compelled the miners at the Mine de Mota (Mine La Motte) located fifteen leagues from Santa Genoveva, to abandon it, only a small amount of lead has been taken from other small mines, although not enough for the consumption of these settlements. On that account, none has been taken to the capital.¹³

It is not known when work at the mines was resumed so that lead could be exported again. There is no statistical report of production of lead between the report of 1775 and one which was dated 1791. It is probable that the abandonment of mining, on account of trouble with the Indians, was temporary and that within a year or two the settlers were able to carry on mining as before. The production reported in 1791 is 216,000 pounds and it seems reasonable to assume that there was probably a rather steady growth of lead production during the 1780's. However, since there are no

¹²Houck, *The Spanish Regime*, Vol. I, p. 55.

¹³*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 100.

statistics, no definite statements as to production during the interval from 1775 to 1791 can be made.

The next report after that of 1791 (made four years later) shows an increase of more than 100,000 pounds, but in 1796 the production dropped to only 3,000 pounds more than that in 1791. The report of 1799 shows a further decrease of almost 50,000 pounds but in 1800 there is a marked increase with a total of 438,080 pounds of lead exported.

The discovery of Mine à Breton is the most important one which occurred during the Spanish period. About 1773,⁵⁴ Francis Breton, who was a hunter, discovered lead ore near Potosi,⁵⁵ while he was out pursuing a bear in the region. At the time Schoolcraft visited the lead region (1818), Breton was still living in the vicinity of Ste. Genevieve at the age of 109 years. Schoolcraft believed that Breton had been employed by Renault in working the mines which had been discovered in the early eighteenth century. It is probable that this is true as there is reason to believe (from Schoolcraft's account) that he had a personal interview with Breton and therefore his opinion should carry some weight.⁵⁶

Mine à Breton⁵⁷ was situated on a fork of the Big River about 38 miles west northwest of Ste. Genevieve. Mining was carried on here rather extensively throughout the first twenty years of its production. The deposits attracted miners from other parts of the lead region because of their richness. Old Mines, which was opened by Renault in 1726, was abandoned at this time because the mineral was found to be more abundant at the new mines. Mine La Motte was also deserted for a time while prospectors went in search of more mineral at the new "diggings."⁵⁸

About the same time that Mine à Breton was discovered Mine à Robuna, about two miles east southeast of Mine à

⁵⁴As has been stated above, the exact date of a discovery cannot be ascertained. Schoolcraft, writing in 1819, said Mine à Breton had been known for forty years. Many writers of county histories and others who do not quote their authority give the date of its discovery as 1763.

⁵⁵*St. Louis Enquirer*, October 16, 1818. As quoted in Rozier, *History of the Early Settlement of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 91.

⁵⁶Schoolcraft, *View of the Lead Mines*, p. 18.

⁵⁷Also written Mine A Burton.

⁵⁸Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

Breton, was located. The diggings at this mine were nearly as extensive as those at Mine à Breton.⁵⁹

Although these mines were worked throughout the rest of the century, it was not until the coming of Austin at the very close of the eighteenth century that it became at all common for the miners to remain at the site of the mine throughout the entire year. Previous to the coming of Austin, the miners kept their homes at Ste. Genevieve, New Bourbon, or in some cases, on the east side of the Mississippi and worked at the mines during three or four months of the year, returning to the villages near the river to spend the winter.

The population statistics given in the table show a steady increase in population in the Ste. Genevieve District with minor exceptions. After 1785 there is a constant increase and this substantiates the evidence that there was an attempt made to encourage immigration of Americans during the latter part of the century.⁶⁰

There were no changes of significance in the customs or usages among the miners during the Spanish period and the Spanish authority did not influence the development of the mining region in any perceptible degree.

In regard to the influence of the Spanish period on St. Louis (and what was true for St. Louis would apply to the Ste. Genevieve District), Billon wrote:

During the thirty-four years of Spanish authority succeeding the first six years of French rule, the place continued to be French in every essential but the partial use of Spanish in a few official documents; the intercourse of the people with each other, and their governors, their commerce, trade, habits, customs, manners, amusements, marriages, funerals, services in church, parish registers, everything was French; the governors and officers all spoke French, it was a *sine qua non* in their appointment; the few Spaniards that settled in the country soon became Frenchmen, and all married French wives, no Frenchman became a Spaniard; two or three of the governors were Frenchmen by birth; the wives of Gov. Piernas and Trudeau were French ladies. Outside of the Spanish officials and

⁵⁹Austin, Moses, *Summary Description of the Lead Mines in Upper Louisiana*, p. 10.

⁶⁰Viles, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-204.

soldiers not more than a dozen Spaniards came to the place during the domination of Spain; Governor Delassus was born in France and Trudeau was of French stock, and nearly all the papers in the archives were in the French language. The country was only Spanish by possession, but practically French in all else.⁴¹

What Billon said in regard to St. Louis applies to the settlements throughout the region that later became Missouri. The settlements in the mining districts remained French and were affected scarcely at all by the period of Spanish occupation.

⁴¹ Billon, F. L., *Annals of St. Louis in its Early Days Under the French and Spanish Dominations*, pp. 76-77.

(*The End*)

MISSOURIANA

The Marion County Abolitionists
Tall Tales From Callaway
Topics in Missouri History
Do You Know, Or Don't You?
Advertisements in the Pioneer Press

THE MARION COUNTY ABOLITIONISTS

Time and again as he composed the Civil war and Negro songs that made him one of the most popular American song-writers of his day, the thoughts of Henry Clay Work must have returned to his childhood experiences in western Illinois and in Missouri. Filled as they were with the fanaticism of the abolitionist movement in the vicinity of Quincy, Illinois, the threats of mob violence in Palmyra and Marion county, Missouri, and the remembrance of his father's imprisonment in the Missouri penitentiary for attempting to liberate slaves, the memories of his early years must have exerted a strong influence on him when he wrote *Marching Through Georgia, Wake Nicodemus!*, and the many other songs that made him famous.

Henry Clay Work was only three years old in 1835 when his father, Alanson Work, brought the family from Connecticut to Illinois. Even at that time abolitionist excitement was seething in the northeastern counties of Missouri along the Mississippi river, and in 1836 Dr. David Nelson, a Presbyterian minister, president of Marion College, and an outspoken anti-slavery advocate, was driven from Marion county. He took refuge at Quincy, just across the Mississippi river from the slave soil of Missouri.

It was not long before Quincy became the center of considerable abolitionist activity. Among the anti-slavery men attracted to the vicinity was a certain Rev. Moses Hunter, who established a school called the Mission Institute. Besides offering educational facilities and preparing students for the ministry, the Mission Institute became the headquarters

for a group that gloried in aggressive abolition and participated actively in helping and encouraging slaves to escape from Missouri. It was to Hunter's Mission Institute that Alanson Work took his family to live so that his children might get an education.

Close association in childhood with the abolition movement must have left an indelible impression on the future composer's memory, but nothing, perhaps, in his whole life could have impressed itself more vividly than the events which transpired in 1841, and in which his father played an active part.

On Monday, July 12, 1841, Alanson Work, with James E. Burr and George Thompson, two theological students at the Mission Institute, crossed the Mississippi in a boat from Quincy for the purpose of inducing and helping slaves to escape from Missouri. Leaving Thompson to guard the boat near the mouth of the Fabius river in the northeastern part of Marion county, Work and Burr proceeded inland, where during the day they made arrangements with some slaves belonging to William P. Brown, R. N. Woolfolk, William Dingle and a Mr. Boulware to meet them that night and help them out of the State.

What the three abolitionists had not thought of was the possibility that the Negroes themselves would expose the attempted liberation, but that is what happened. On learning from the Negroes of the abolitionists' plans, Mr. Brown organized an armed party of neighbors and concealed it near the meeting place. At the appointed time, the slaves arrived and led Work and Burr to the ambush where at the point of the slave-owners' guns, the two were seized and bound by the Negroes. A few minutes later Thompson was captured at the place where he waited in the skiff.

The three abolitionists were tied together and held at a nearby house during the night, and the next day were led into Palmyra where they were given a hearing and lodged in jail. According to newspaper accounts, bail was set at \$2,000 each, and the abolitionists were unable to furnish it.

Excitement ran high in Palmyra and Marion county over the capture of the abolitionists, and threats of mob

violence were frequent while the men were confined to jail there. "We are opposed to mob law in Marion," said Presly Carr Lane—described by the editor of the *Daily Missouri Republican* at St. Louis as "one of the most respectable citizens of Palmyra"—"but there is a point beyond which lenity ceases to be a virtue. We are determined not to be harassed any longer by this monster in human shape." The events of 1836 were still prominent in the minds of many citizens, and on numerous occasions angry mobs gathered threateningly at the jail, and a constant stream of curious visitors came to see the prisoners.

The fanatical religious viewpoint of the prisoners incited additional opposition. At first it was believed that they were Mormons, whose anti-slavery views were already well known to Missourians, but this supposition was soon corrected. "I never have, in the whole course of my life," wrote Mr. Lane, "seen such poor deluded creatures. They say they are perfectly resigned to their fate—that God will protect and preserve them from danger—that in doing what they were about, they were endeavoring to set free a portion of God's creatures who were in bondage, which is contrary to His will." Nearly two months later, the prisoners were still boasting of their attempt to free the slaves; they asserted that they were in the service of the Lord and would eventually triumph; and their shouting and worship could often be heard on the streets outside the jail. "As they continue to avow these sentiments," wrote another observer, "it is not to be expected that the citizens will tamely submit to their being turned loose again to tamper with and entice away their slaves." The records kept by the men themselves and later published, bear out this account of their religious viewpoint.

The people of Marion county were not alone in their disapproval of the purposes and methods of the abolitionists. The *Daily Missouri Republican* of St. Louis believed that Work, Burr and Thompson were a good illustration "of that species of character which we believe may be found in Saint Louis as well as in Illinois, who will pray with you at evening and steal your negro at midnight." Nor was the condemnation confined to Missouri. In a letter of three Quincy men

to the editor of the *Republican* it was stated: "We wish to make no apology for the young men in prison; we join with the great body of our citizens in expressing our unqualified condemnation of their conduct." Dr. Nelson himself was quoted as disapproving of "such interference with the laws and institutions of Missouri," and Presly Carr Lane remarked that ". . . the people of Quincy were as much rejoiced at their being caught as we were here, with the exception of the abolitionists."

As the time for the trial of the men approached, further excitement spread over Palmyra at the report that there was no existing law under which their offense could be classed. Missouri at that time had laws concerning stealing and other matters affecting slaves, but there was nothing about attempting to entice slaves away, which appeared to cover this case. Although the indictment on which the trial was conducted was based on the laws respecting slave stealing, the defense counsel made its case on the grounds that the men had only attempted to entice slaves away, which was not then illegal in Missouri.

The case came to trial before Judge P. H. McBride in the circuit court at Palmyra on September 10, with a great crowd on hand to hear the case. J. R. Abernathy, the circuit attorney, was assisted in the prosecution by J. B. Crockett of St. Louis and Thomas L. Anderson of Palmyra. The defense lawyers were Samuel T. Glover and Uriel Wright of Palmyra and Calvin A. Warren of Quincy. Although by the laws of Missouri the testimony of a slave could not be given against a white person, the prosecution obtained the inclusion of the testimony given by the negroes to their masters and by them given in court, despite the objections of the counsel for the defense. By late Saturday night, September 11, all arguments had been completed, but the case was not given to the jury until Monday morning. The jury was out about one hour, when it returned to court with a verdict of guilty, and sentenced the prisoners to twelve years in the penitentiary. It is of more than passing interest to note that one of the men

on the jury which tried the abolitionists was John M. Clemens, father of the famous Missouri author and humorist, Mark Twain.

The conviction of the abolitionists met general approval in Missouri. The announcement of the verdict, according to the account in George Tompson's book, was greeted by "clapping of hands and shouts of 'good', 'good' ", and one man is reported as exclaiming, "There, we've got clear of mobbing them."

"This," read a letter of a Palmyra man to the *Daily Missouri Republican*, "it is hoped, will satisfy the Abolitionists in and about Quincy, that their peculiar views of philanthropy are not properly appreciated in Missouri, and it is hoped we should not be troubled again soon, by persons holding their peculiar views about slavery." Editorially, the same paper commented: "This should be a lesson to all such fanatics to keep out of Missouri. We suppose these three worthies will be canonized by their brethren as martyrs to the cause of freedom." Another St. Louis paper, the *Evening Gazette*, remarked: "We hope the result of this case will have a salutary influence upon these deluded fanatics in other places."

Formal sentencing of the abolitionists to the penitentiary took place on September 17, and although an appeal was made to the supreme court, it was denied. On the first of October the three prisoners were placed in a stage and started for Jefferson City accompanied by a guard of six or seven armed men on horseback. They arrived at the capital on the afternoon of October 3, and a large curious crowd watched as they were taken to the penitentiary to begin their 12-year terms.

At the time Work, Burr and Thompson were in the penitentiary, it was the policy of the State to lease the prisoners to private concerns for the exploitation of labor. The State provided for inspectors, but the control of the prisoners was in the hands of the lessees, and as a consequence, many abuses existed. Severe punishment, excessive work, poor food and clothing, and inadequate medical attention were not un-

common, and the three abolitionists shared many of these experiences with the other prisoners.

For the story of their imprisonment in the Missouri penitentiary, the historian must turn to George Thompson's book, *Prison Life and Reflections*. It is natural that Thompson should resent many of the incidents that took place during their imprisonment, but even his book shows that the three abolitionists were granted many privileges not accorded other prisoners, and in many cases strict rules were set aside in their favor. At first they were kept in chains, but these were later removed. They attracted considerable attention throughout their imprisonment, and both prisoners and visitors referred to them as "the preachers." They were treated particularly leniently as regards the writing and receiving of letters and in seeing visitors. They proved to be good prisoners in general and were granted special privileges, even to the point of being allowed to go outside the walls of the prison unguarded.

Alanson Work's case appears to have excited more general sympathy than that of any of the three. His imprisonment left his family destitute, and a few months after entering prison, his youngest child, a girl about three or four years old, died. Among the strong appeals for leniency in his case was the petition of the Rev. Arthur Granger and others of the South Congregational Church of Middletown, Connecticut, dated December 18, 1841. This petition stated that Work had joined the church in May, 1834, and was "greatly beloved by us all," and "adorned his profession by a godly, consistent life." In denying this plea for clemency, Governor Thomas Reynolds wrote a lengthy reply on January 27, 1842, in which he set forth what might be considered the prevailing attitude of Missourians. Pointing out that the prisoners admitted they came to Missouri for the express purpose of liberating slaves, and that the slaves themselves helped to apprehend them, he continued: "The time has at length arrived, when the security of our domestic institutions rests upon our own ability to protect ourselves. . . . In view of all the circumstances and of all the facts, I feel that I would be doing injustice to the State and to its citizens,

and exposing their property to like offenders, if I granted your petition."

Alanson Work was about 42 years old when he entered the Missouri penitentiary. He was a native of Connecticut, but a sandy complexion gave a hint of his Scotch ancestry. On entering the prison, he was assigned the task of making chairs. Mrs. Work came to Jefferson City on several occasions to visit her husband, and it appears that she worked ceaselessly for his release. Usually she brought their children with her, and during one visit "Alanson's little boy"—perhaps Henry Clay—slept for several nights inside the penitentiary with the abolitionists. Petitions from Quincy and Palmyra were circulated in favor of Work's release, and several Missouri legislators became interested in the case of the three men. As a direct result on January 20, 1845, Work was pardoned from the penitentiary by Governor John C. Edwards, with the express condition that he return to Connecticut. The first of the three abolitionists to gain his freedom, Work left the prison with 200 manuscript pages of Thompson's book and Thompson's entire journal up to that time.

James E. Burr was a native of New York, and at the time of his imprisonment, was about 30 years old. He had been studying for the ministry before his arrest. He was about 6 feet 4 inches tall, but slight in build. In prison he was set to work as a carpenter. Much of the time Burr was sick, and on January 19, 1844, he suffered the misfortune of catching an arm in a machine. Before the machine could be stopped, Burr's arm had been broken in several places below the elbow. It was eight months before he was able to use the arm to any extent, and he was more or less deprived of its use the rest of his life, due, according to Thompson's account, to the lack of proper surgical attention. Efforts continued to be made in behalf of the prisoners, and not long after a petition in their favor had been circulated in Marion county, Burr was pardoned by Governor Edwards on January 30, 1846.

George Thompson was the most aggressive of the three abolitionists and the last of all to gain his freedom. There can be little doubt but that his tenacious, if not fanatical,

adherence to his ideas served to maintain adverse public opinion against him. He was a native of New Jersey, black haired, five feet tall, and not quite 24 years old when apprehended. There is no better evidence of the religious fanaticism that actuated Thompson to attempt the liberation of the Marion county slaves, and afterward to justify the act, than his book on *Prison Life and Reflections*. That he believed he was acting at the direction of Divine guidance is evident. Connecting the acts of those who opposed him with subsequent events by the process of cause and effect, Thompson was able to interpret such things as the escape of prisoners from the penitentiary as punishment for the officials who tried to keep him in prison. And when Governor Reynolds committed suicide on February 9, 1844, Thompson commented: "We had long prayed that if he could not be converted, but was fully bent on withstanding the Almighty, and trampling down justice and judgment, he might, by some means, be *removed*, that the cause of suffering humanity might advance. . . . we felt it to be the hand of God. . . ."

But if Thompson were not furthering his own efforts to obtain freedom by his attitude and injudicious remarks to officials and visitors, he at least was doing some good in the prison. He arranged to hold prayer meetings for the prisoners on Sundays, preached to the prisoners on several occasions when the regular chaplain was absent, and attended the death-beds of several convicts. Undoubtedly he was the most active of the three abolitionists. Besides keeping a journal covering the period of his imprisonment, he wrote poems on numerous occasions, and kept up a stream of correspondence with persons outside.

When first imprisoned, Thompson was assigned to work in the brickyard, but later he worked as a wagon-maker. In haying and harvest time he had the opportunity to work in the fields. For a while he was foreman in the weaver's shop, but was removed because he did not drive the other prisoners hard enough. When the famed social-reformer, Miss Dorothea Lynde Dix visited the Missouri penitentiary

on May 14 (or 15), 1846, she sought out Thompson and talked at length with him. He later addressed one of his poems to her.

Late in May, 1846, Thompson's father came to Jefferson City to aid in obtaining the release of his son. Public sentiment in Missouri appears to have been changing, and Thompson himself relented enough from his previous stand to say about his attempt to liberate slaves: "I would not do the same thing again; and I would try and deter others from doing as I did. The step was rash and imprudent." Sentiment for Thompson's release continued to grow, and on June 24, 1846, Governor Edwards gave him an unconditional pardon. For their attempt to liberate the Marion county slaves, the three abolitionists had spent a total of thirteen years and five days in prison.

Thompson appears to have proceeded to Oberlin, Ohio, where the preface to his *Prison Life and Reflections* was signed on April 9, 1847, and the preface to *The Prison Bard*, his book of poems composed while in prison in Missouri, on December 15, 1847. What Burr did after being released from the penitentiary I do not now know. Alanson Work returned to Connecticut, and at Hartford published Thompson's *Prison Life and Reflections*. Before his death at Hartford on July 6, 1879, he saw his son, Henry Clay Work, attain national fame as a writer of popular songs, among which were *We Are Coming, Sister Mary*; *Grandfather's Clock*; *Father Come Home* (the famous temperance song); *Shadows on the Floor*; *Marching Through Georgia*; *Grafted Into the Army*; *God Save the Nation*; *Song of a Thousand Years*; *Wake Nicodemus!*; and *Kingdom Coming*.

The numerous editions of Thompson's narrative indicate the interest of the northern people in the case of the Marion county abolitionists, and give some credence to the statement that it was this case, and that of Elijah P. Lovejoy, that aroused much of the anti-slavery feeling of the north. Considering the antithetical viewpoints of the abolitionists and the slave-holders, the violent reactions occasioned by the attempt to liberate the Marion county slaves are not surprising. Governor Reynolds' position has already been

cited as an indication of the state of the public mind a short time after the affair had taken place. And there can be little doubt but that the Marion county case was the incentive for the Missouri law introduced by Senator John J. Campbell of Marion county and passed on January 4, 1843, defining the offense of enticing a slave out of the State as grand larceny. Governor M. M. Marmaduke, who succeeded Reynolds and held office for a part of 1844, told Alanson Work: "The excitement, all over the country, is the greatest it ever has been, and I do not think that I, or any other Executive would be *sustained by public opinion*, in letting you go."

And yet, the thing that is most surprising about the whole case is the swift subsidence of public indignation in Missouri. Only a few months after Governor Marmaduke gave his opinion, his successor, Governor Edwards, had pardoned Alanson Work, and by the middle of 1846, all three were free. This action caused no furor in Missouri, and indeed, attracted little attention in the newspapers. St. Louis and Palmyra files were not available when this study was made, but newspapers from practically every other part of the State, including Jefferson City, were examined, and only two items were found. One was a brief note, unaccompanied by any comment, in the *Columbia Missouri Statesman*, concerning Work's release. The other was a short article from the *St. Louis Era*, reprinted in the *Statesman*, which told of Thompson's release, and added:

"...the pardon of his associates sometime since, is said to have had a favorable influence in Illinois. In granting these pardons the governor has acted with deliberation and caution, and has not granted them until from good authority he was satisfied that the public interest would be promoted by such a course."

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TALL TALES FROM CALLAWAY

If there is anyone inclined to doubt the complete veracity of the following tales, he is at liberty to do so. The account is reprinted from *A History of the Pioneer Families of Missouri* by William S. Bryan and Robert Rose (p. 515).

James Ripper, of Callaway county, went on a hunt, one day, with several of his neighbors, and while they were in the woods they caught two cub bears. Ripper wanted to save them alive for pets, and the rest of the party agreed to let him have them if he would carry them home alive. So he tied their legs together, slung them across a stick and shouldered them. He had proceeded only a short distance on his way home when each of the bears caught him by one of the ears, and bit them off. That worried him, and he threw the bears down and killed them on the spot.

In early days a disease called the hollow horn was very bad among the cattle of Callaway county, and many of them died. Ripper thought

he could fool the hollow horn and give it something to think about; so he sold all of his horned cattle and bought muleys instead. But pretty soon the muleys had the hollow horn too, and when Ripper went in great distress to his neighbors to inquire what he should do, they advised him to take a gimlet and bore holes into the heads of his cattle. He did so, and killed them as dead as the hollow horn could have done.

Ripper used to farm in partnership with a neighbor named Hamlin. The latter was low, but large and fat, while Ripper was low and lean as a lucifer match. In the fall they would gather the fodder and the tops of the stalks of their corn while it was green and sweet, and bundle it up for winter food for their stock. But the corn grew very tall, and they were both so low that they could not reach to the tops, so they had to invent some plan to increase their stature. They finally decided to splice themselves, and upon trying it they found that the plan worked admirably. Ripper would stand on Hamlin's shoulders and pull the top blades while his fellow-laborer pulled those lower down; and thus they gathered their crop in peace and harmony.

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DO YOU KNOW, OR DON'T YOU?

That the word "Missouri" does not mean "muddy water." It is an Indian word meaning "the town of the large canoes."

That the origin, age and even exact meaning of the famous expression, "I'm from Missouri; you've got to show me," is not definitely known. The origin of the phrase has often been attributed to the late Congressman Willard D. Vandiver, who used it in a speech at Philadelphia in 1899, but Vandiver himself was not contentious about his claim, declaring that he "never considered it of such great value as to warrant taking out a copyright on it." So many other theories are in existence, however, that it is safe to say that it is not now known when, where or how the phrase originated. Some of the theories indicate that the expression has been used in an opprobrious sense, but the more recent meaning is that of an attitude of "one not easily taken in."

That malaria was so common in Missouri and other part of the Mississippi Valley in pioneer days that the months of July, August and September were called the "sickly season."

That a Missouri country doctor, Dr. John Sappington, by his pioneering advocacy of quinine in the treatment of malaria, contributed vastly toward making the Mississippi Valley inhabitable.

That Missouri owes her reputation as a mule state to her early connection with the Santa Fe Trail. As far as historians have been able to determine, the first mules to enter Missouri were of Mexican origin and were brought to the State over the Santa Fe Trail.

ADVERTISEMENTS IN THE PIONEER PRESS

THEATRE

MANAGERS	LUDLOW & SMITH
Stage Manager	J. M. Weston.

NOTICE—During the engagement of Mr. Booth, the price of admission to the *Dress Circle* will be ONE DOLLAR, the other parts of the house will remain at the usual rates.

The managers take great pleasure in announcing an engagement for *six nights*, with the distinguished tragedian, Mr. Booth, who will make his first appearance in St. Louis, in the character of "Sir Edward Mortimer."¹

Monday Evening, June 22d, 1846, Colman's tragic play called *The Iron Chest!* or the mysterious murder.—Sir Edward Mortimer, Mr. Booth; Wilford, Mr. Weston; Adam Winterton, Mr. Farren; Blanche, Mrs. Farren.

To conclude with *Naval Engagements*.—Admiral Kingston, Mr. Farren; Lieut. Kingston, Mr. Weston; Miss Mortimer, Mrs. Farren; Mrs. Pontifex, Mrs. Russell.

Price of admission. Dress Circle \$1.00; Parquette 50 cents; Second and Third Tiers of Boxes 25 cents; gallery for people of color 25 cents.

Box Office open daily, from 10 a. m. till 1 p. m., and from 3 to 5 o'clock, when boxes and seat may be secured on application to Mr. J. P. Baily, *Clerk and Treasurer*.

Doors open at 7; the curtain will rise at a *quarter before 8 o'clock*, punctually.

From the *Missouri Reporter*, St. Louis, June 22, 1846.

¹On the first appearance of Junius Brutus Booth in St. Louis June 22, a crowded house experienced some of the great tragedian's eccentricities. He was reported to be "not himself," "wholly unfit to go through his part," and after the performance the managers "discharged" him for his "inexcusable freaks." Booth did not play at the Theatre the next night, but on the 24th the managers relented and he appeared as "Sir Giles Overreach" in *Massenger's A New Way to Pay Old Debts*. Altogether he gave at least ten performances in St. Louis, exceeding the original engagement of six nights, and except for the early appearances, gave creditable interpretations and was enthusiastically received.

On the 25th, Booth played "Richard the Third" in Shakespeare's play of that name, and on the next evening he acted the part of "Pescara" in Shield's tragedy entitled *The Apostate*. On June 27 he repeated *Richard the Third* and Monday night the 29th he played "Bertram" in R. C. Maturin's tragedy of that name. He acted the part of "Lucius Junius Brutus" in John Howard Payne's tragedy of *Brutus* on June 30, and on July 1 he offered Shakespeare's *King Lear*. A repeat run of *The Iron Chest* was given on July 2, and the next night, advertised as his last, he again appeared in *The Apostate*.

ST. CHARLES ACADEMY AND BOARDING SCHOOL

Under the superintendance of Rev. Messrs. J. M. Peck and James Craig, is now open for the reception of students. In this institution youth of both sexes will enjoy every opportunity of acquiring a useful and liberal education. Strict attention will be paid to the *morals and manners* of those placed under our care, and no pains spared to cultivate the mind and regulate the conduct.

The prices of board and tuition will be moderate. Books and stationery furnished at a low rate if requested. Terms of payment *quarterly, in advance.*

J. M. Peck,²
James Craig,²

April 5th, 1819.

From the *Missouri Gazette and Public Advertiser*, St. Louis, April 7, 1819.

²John Mason Peck was a noted Baptist missionary, born in Connecticut in 1789. He came to Missouri in 1817 and was active in this State and Illinois for many years. He died in 1858 and is buried in Bellefontaine Cemetery at St. Louis.

²James Craig, according to John Mason Peck's *Memoir*, was a Baptist preacher who had been baptized, licensed and ordained in Ohio. He and Peck soon disagreed, for Peck writes that within a year he found that Craig was of doubtful standing in Kentucky and Ohio "and regarded a disorderly person." Craig, according to Peck, "had been raised a Quaker, without the honesty or truthfulness of that sect."

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

IN MEMORIAM

COLONEL R. M. WHITE

He had already served nine years as chairman of the Finance Committee of the State Historical Society and as a trustee on its Executive Committee, and twelve years as a supporter of the Society, when I first met Colonel R. M. White in 1910 at the time of my appointment as assistant librarian. My impression of him at that meeting changed only to deepen during our close relationship which lasted twenty-four years, as we sat at the committee table, met at editorial gatherings, and exchanged letters. He remained chairman of the Finance Committee until his resignation in 1932 and was a trustee on the Executive Committee until his death on June 26, 1934. From 1914 to 1916 he also served as president of the Society.

He was a representative of the highest class of real leaders our State has produced. Democracy would make few mistakes if composed of such men. He was a realist who believed in and worked for progress. He was honest and frank, but intuitively keen and politic. Common sense, work, and loyalty were the beacons he always followed. He hated graft, pitied envy, sympathized with timidity and misfortune, shunned stupidity, and detested deceit and cowardice.

One winter night in 1913, he appeared with me before the Appropriation Committee in Jefferson City. The Society's support was meager and a little increase meant much to the work. I was trying to present the budget when some one interrupted to ask me what I did to earn my salary. Before I could reply, Colonel White arose, his great stature towering over all, and pointing his strikingly long, bony, index finger like a pointer at the surprised inquirer, began a heated, almost enraged, reply that lasted, it seemed, ten minutes. I have never heard anything more unexpected in debate. When he took his seat, the hearing was over, and the silence was impressive. The Committee was puzzled, I was in painful

doubt, and only the Colonel felt satisfied and confident. A second hearing was necessary. The members asked questions as never before and the appropriation was raised 50%! Every member of that Committee became a convinced and active worker for the State Historical Society. It had taken a bomb to dispel historical lethargy and the Colonel threw that bomb at just the right moment.

Usually, though, he was at peace with all, but never lacking in readiness to fight if necessary. Of course, one either loved and respected him or one did *not*. He was not a fifty-fifty product in moral and mental qualities. I loved him, respected him, and the State Historical Society of Missouri will always be his debtor, for here in these rooms Colonel R. M. White contributed to a work which will last as long as Missouri cherishes the records of her people.

GATHERING MISSOURI'S STORY

Dr. Walter Williams, Dr. Loeb and Colonel White, appointed on the finance committee of the State Historical Society of Missouri by the late E. W. Stephens in 1901, represented in their activities, the professions of journalism and education. President Williams resigned on July 2, 1934.

One-time Missouri editor, Dr. Williams founded the first degree-conferring school of journalism in the world and now is president of the University of Missouri.

Dr. Loeb obtained the highest available scholastic training in this country and in Europe in the field of political science, history and law. For years on the faculty of the University of Missouri, he now is dean of the School of Business and Public Administration of Washington University in St. Louis.

Fifty-eight years of service in newspaper work and charity among the needy, were rendered by the late Colonel R. M. White through his paper at Mexico.

No wonder then, that the Historical Society should develop as it has, with three such outstanding men at the helm with the brilliant present Secretary Floyd Shoemaker, one of the ablest men in his field in this country. The state

is deeply indebted to Dr. Williams, Dr. Loeb and E. W. Stephens for the inception and promotion of the plan which brought about the founding of the State Historical Society by the Missouri Press Association in 1898. It is as deeply indebted to Floyd Shoemaker for the development. Missouri editors co-operated with these leaders by sending their current newspapers and in some cases depositing and giving their old files for permanent preservation.

The growth of the Society may be likened to that of an invalid child. Starting with only a few papers, no definite shelter for activity, and without money to pay those in service, the organization was incorporated in 1899 and by the act of the 40th General Assembly, approved May 4, 1899, was declared a trustee of the state and its rights and duties in that capacity were prescribed.

The hearty work of these pioneers immediately succeeded. Books, pamphlets, official and unofficial reports and minutes, current and old files of newspapers and magazines, and manuscripts and documents on Missouri came into the hands of the Society from over the state. Success had come and a regular staff and income were necessary.

Colonel F. A. Sampson of Sedalia became secretary and through him the Sampson Collection of rare Missouriana was obtained. This collection numbered 1,886 books and 14,280 pamphlets. Now, after three years of hard work and endearing co-operation, the Society was granted state support by the 41st General Assembly.

Dr. Williams' Finance Committee rendered an unforgettable service to the State of Missouri. The high standing and work of the State Historical Society represents no small contribution to the culture of Missouri. The accomplishments of these early men, giving freely of their time and energy, with no material gain in view, were set forth in an editorial by Irving Dilliard in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June 19, 1934:

A branch of the State Government which has stuck to its knitting through various changes of administration is the State Historical Society of Missouri, whose headquarters are at Columbia. Day in and day out, its surprisingly small staff goes about the business of collecting, pre-

serving and making available for the present and the future matters concerning Missouri's historic past. The most recent report shows that the Society now possesses more than 200,000 books and pamphlets and nearly 18,000 volumes of bound Missouri newspapers and magazines, to say nothing of numerous manuscript collections.

This means the creation of historical records for every locality in the state, something which for the large part otherwise would be non-existent. Much of the credit for the Society's good work belongs to its efficient secretary and librarian, Floyd C. Shoemaker, under whom its membership has been second in size only to that of the corresponding Pennsylvania society for fifteen years. The State Historical Society of Missouri gets precious little of the taxpayer's money, but it quietly makes the most of what it does get.

The work of the Society goes on in spite of the loss of most of its original cast. Yet the foundation laid by Dr. Williams and the others, is so embedded that growth and everlasting service will remain the ultimate goal of these workers. The principle of unselfish duty to fellowmen is engraved across the records of this organization, and each new officer has carried this on.—An Editorial in the *Columbia, Missourian*, July 16, 1934.

UNION LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN MISSOURI LIBRARIES

An interesting and useful accomplishment of the State Historical Society during the past few months is the compilation of a Union List of Newspapers in Missouri libraries. This work was undertaken at the invitation of the Bibliographical Society of America, and embraces all libraries in this State which were willing to contribute records of their holdings. Similar lists are being compiled in other states, and when completed the Union List for the United States and Canada will be published by the Rockefeller Foundation.

This Missouri compilation necessitated the collection of data from public and school libraries, fifty-seven of which were found to be preserving newspapers. This data includes Missouri newspapers from 1808 to date, and some published in other states before 1808. Bibliographical information, such as the date of founding, frequency of publication, and changes in title, is given concerning each paper. Beginning with the Society's own file of over 18,000 bound volumes

this list was enlarged so that it now covers many additional bound volumes and separate issues. The usefulness of this Union List to librarians, research students, and all persons interested in newspaper files will make it an invaluable reference work.

ON AND OFF THE RECORD

Depression and drought in Missouri are found recorded as early as one cares to search, and other ills as well, some of which are now gone and almost forgotten. Despite cheap—almost free—virgin soil, wild game and other free foods, almost free shelter, free fuel, and homemade clothing, Missourians were so deeply involved in debt and were in such economic distress when statehood was obtained in 1820, following the panic of 1819, that the General Assembly passed a State Loan Office Law in 1821. The act was repealed in 1822, many of the loans were never repaid by the borrowers, the Supreme Court of the United States decided against the act in 1830, and Missouri had its first State debt of \$70,000.

Every summer in those days was the "*sickly season*." Malaria was a common disease and was not conquered until quinine came into general use through the enterprise of a Missouri country doctor, Dr. John Sappington.

The drought of 1831! Creeks and rivers went dry, the grass died, trees lost their leaves, wild life migrated or was decimated, the crops failed, and seed corn from Kentucky for next year's planting sold at from \$2 to \$4 a bushel. Only fair crops were raised in 1832 and in some sections very little of the \$4 seed repaid the farmer for its cost.

The national government gave the State land, thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of *acres*, for education and internal improvements, and thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of *dollars* for roads and canals and other helpful objects. But for years few free public schools, and only poor roads and hazardous bridges, were built.

In 1837 panic again descended on the State, in 1844 floods brought destruction of property, and in 1849 fire almost destroyed downtown St. Louis and cholera that year brought

terror to the commonwealth, killed thousands in city and country, and continued for four years. In 1854 a drought of the intensity and destructiveness of that of 1831, 1881, 1901 or 1934 caused many to abandon hope of living in such a desert as Missouri, and in 1857—another panic.

Then came the '60s with its four years of war fought between our own citizens, destruction and confiscation of property valued in the hundreds of millions of dollars, loss of lives in the thousands, despair or suspicion in every section of the land—almost in every community—corruption in places high and low, a mounting state debt, the highest state taxes ever levied, a land and town boom seldom equalled, a state railroad debt of \$25,000,000 and a county railroad debt even larger—the latter not yet paid in full.

And then appeared the '70s,—another memorable decade. It brought the panic of '73, a depression that lasted five years, the grasshopper plague of 1874 and 1875 which devastated half of the State, and resulted in a Grasshopper Law passed in 1877 providing for a State and county bounty of \$5 a bushel for grasshopper eggs, and in 1876 even a rat plague which led the General Assembly in 1877 to pass a Rat Law permitting the county courts to offer a bounty of 5c a rat scalp—and the law remained in force eleven years, costing some counties more than \$1,000 the first year.

BACK NUMBERS OF *Missouri Historical Review* WANTED

The State Historical Society of Missouri will pay one dollar (\$1.00) a copy for these numbers of the *Review*—Vol. I, No. 4, Vol. II, No. 3, Vol. VI, Nos. 1 & 2, Vol. XIX, No. 2, and Vol. XX, Nos. 1 & 2; and fifty cents (\$.50) a copy for these issues,—Vol. IV, No. 2, Vol. VI, No. 3, Vol. XIV, No. 1, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, Vol. XX, Nos. 3 & 4, Vol. XXI, No. 1, Vol. XXII, No. 2, and Vol. XXIII, No. 3.

A RARE MISSOURI ITEM

An interesting example of book rarity is the *Constitution of the State of Missouri; made in Convention, at the City of Jefferson, A. D. 1845*. This 26-page pamphlet was

printed in 1846 by James Lusk, public printer, and according to the notation on the cover 20,000 copies were issued. This Constitution was not adopted by the people. The most recent offering of a copy of this Constitution, in good condition, was at \$50.00. Copies of this are being preserved by the State Historical Society, where they are always available for use by the public.

HISTORIC SITE MARKERS ERECTED IN HANNIBAL

Nine markers of historic sites in and near Hannibal have been erected by Mr. George A. Mahan, president of the State Historical Society of Missouri. These are similar in design to the thirty-three markers along Highway 36, and in Hannibal, which he erected in 1932. They will do much toward the perpetuation of Mark Twain's memory and his works, and by their erection have made Hannibal one of the best marked cities in the United States.

The new markers are at the following sites: The Jail in *Tom Sawyer*; Huck Finn's Home; Tom Sawyer's Fence; Cardiff Hill; Places of Interest in Mark Twain's Books, *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn*; Becky Thatcher's Home; Beckwith's Birthplace; Mark Twain Begins His Life Career; and Mark Twain's Father's Law Office.

COLONEL JOHN F. McMAHAN

Excerpts from an article by Honorable Robert W. Fyan, Marshfield, Missouri.

Colonel John F. McMahan was born in Bedford county, Tenn., Nov. 24, 1826. He was a member of a large family consisting of nine boys and three girls. His parents were James McMahan and Temperance McMahan. The family moved to Missouri in 1840, and settled just north of Seymour.

In 1846 Colonel McMahan volunteered as a soldier in the war with Mexico, and served two years in Company G, 3d Regiment, Missouri Mounted Infantry. After the war he went to California during the gold rush, returned to Missouri in 1851, and then married Miss Margaret Young in 1856.

About this time, on March 3, 1855, Webster county was organized, by a bill introduced by Colonel McMahan in the legislature, and he was given the honor of naming it after Daniel Webster, and the county seat Marshfield, after the home of Daniel Webster, which was Marshfield, Mass.

At the beginning of the Civil war he organized a company, and in 1862 was commissioned captain of Company D, 74th Missouri Enrolled Militia. On December 20 of the same year he was made major of the same organization, and subsequently rose to colonel of the 16th Missouri Cavalry. The regiment participated in the engagements at Big Blue, Little Blue, Marias des Cygnes and Newtonia, and thereafter patrolled the counties of Webster, Texas, Laclede, Ozark, Christian, Douglas, and Greene.

Colonel McMahan took an active part in politics, and in 1854 served as representative of Wright county. After the war he served on the county court, and in 1875 was elected to the General Assembly again as representative. In 1883 he was elected State senator from the 21st District.

(Editor's Note: In the *Missouri Historical Review* of April, 1934, p. 232, appears a note concerning the portrait of Colonel McMahan which was hung in the Webster county courthouse in May, 1933.)

ANNIVERSARIES

Plans for a week's homecoming in 1935 to commemorate the 125th anniversary of the settlement of Boonville have been made by a special committee of the Boonville Chamber of Commerce.—From the Boonville *Daily News*, June 8, 1934.

The 100th anniversary of the town of Roanoke, early tobacco growing center between Huntsville and Glasgow, is to be observed June 20, 1934.—From the *Kansas City Times*, June 15, 1934.

Extracts from a historical sketch of the town of Roanoke read at the centennial celebration of the community by R. M. Bagby, of Fayette, appear in the *Salisbury Press-Spectator* of June 22, 1934.

The ninety-fifth anniversary of Trinity Lutheran Church, Eighth and Soulard streets, the mother church of Lutheranism in St. Louis, will be observed June 3, 1934.—From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, June 2, 1934.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of St. Trinity Lutheran Church, Vermont avenue and Koeln street, St. Louis, will be celebrated June 3-9, 1934.—From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, June 2, 1934.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of Mary Institute was celebrated June 8, 1934, at the annual commencement of the school. The founding date was May 11, 1859.—From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, June 9, 1934.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the Pearl Street Methodist Church, at Macon, was celebrated during the week of July 19.—From the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, July 20, 1934.

MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS

President Roosevelt today signed the joint congressional resolution providing for the memorial to Thomas Jefferson and the Louisiana Purchase on the water front at St. Louis.—From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, June 20, 1934.

The old Anderson house which was used as a hospital during the Battle of Lexington in 1861 has been repaired and restored, and the Lafayette County Court plans an expenditure of \$1,500 for this project and the improvement of the battle field. Markers will be placed on the battle field, and the house will be used as a museum.—From the Lexington *Intelligencer*, June 22, 1934.

The George Caleb Bingham monument in Union Cemetery, Kansas City, is to be restored through the efforts of the Civic Fine Arts committee of the Kansas City Athenaeum.

The inscription will be relettered, and the monument covered with a weatherproof silicate composition.—From the *Kansas City Times*, June 23, 1934.

Recalling the fact that John Colter, discoverer of the Yellowstone region, is buried on Lower Boeuf creek just north of the new bridge on Highway 100, the *New Haven Leader* of July 19, 1934, suggests that a monument should be erected to his memory.

The "Henry Shaw Gardenway" is the name adopted by the St. Louis County Board for that portion of Highway 66 within the limits of St. Louis county.—Editorial in the *St. Louis Star-Times*, June 6, 1934.

Official designation of U. S. Highway 66 from the city limits of St. Louis to the Missouri Botanical Garden's arboretum at Gray Summit, as the Henry Shaw Gardenway, has been made by the County Court of Franklin County.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, July 8, 1934.

A painting-marker, entitled the "City Home of Henry Shaw," was unveiled July 22 at the Franklin-American Building, Seventh and Locust streets, where the home stood until its removal several years ago to Shaw's Garden.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, July 23, 1934.

The offer of Jesse P. Henry and Carl P. Daniel, insurance men, to bear the expense of preserving the childhood home of Eugene Field, in St. Louis, has been unanimously accepted by the Board of Education.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June 14, 1934.

The statue of Edward Bates, pioneer Missouri statesman, which stands at the Chouteau avenue entrance to Forest Park, St. Louis, is to be moved to make room for a new highway.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June 15, 1934.

The new Babler Memorial State Park, consisting of 868 acres on the Wild Horse Creek road, St. Louis county, will soon be improved by the erection of buildings, the building of roads and trails, and the clearing away of underbrush.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, July 17, 1934.

A stone bearing this inscription: "A Battle Between the Youngers and Detectives Occurred Here Mar. 17, 1874; Killed John Younger, E. B. Daniels, and Capt. Lull. C. W. A.—1934," was erected between Monegaw Springs and Osceola, by C. W. A. workers recently. A photograph of the marker has been donated to this Society by W. L. Cox, of Osceola.

NOTES

The will of Judge Bryan Mullanphy, pioneer St. Louis capitalist and philanthropist, which in 1849 set aside one-third of his property, now estimated at one million dollars, for the relief of bona fide western immigrants passing through St. Louis, has again been upheld by the Missouri Supreme Court. Since Judge Mullanphy's death in 1851 the will has been before the Missouri Supreme Court five times.—From the *Kansas City Star*, July 17, 1934.

A program of historical talks on the significance to early St. Louis, of old Fort de Chartres in Illinois, will mark the third annual outing of the St. Louis branch of the Loyal Knights of the Round Table, July 15, 1934. Speakers include Hugh K. Wagner, president of the St. Louis branch, Hon. Lee Meriwether, Congressman James R. Claiborne, and Miss Gladys Walton.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, July 14, 1934, and from correspondence with Mr. Wagner.

A large private museum containing archaeological and other specimens collected in southwest Missouri by Messrs. Ed Martindale, publisher of the *Warsaw Times*, and Joe Bennett, has been opened to the public. It is estimated that 1,000 persons visited the museum during the first eight days.—From the *Warsaw Times*, July 12, 1934.

The Presbyterian Church at 40th Street and Pennsylvania avenue, Westport, which was erected in 1850, has been purchased by Kansas City. The building is offered to any historical society which will move and preserve it.—From the Kansas City *Star*, June 29, 1934.

Recent excavation for a bridge four miles south of Fenton, Missouri, has disclosed fossils of a mastodon. To date workers have found a large part of the mastodon's lower jaw bone and three teeth intact; one of the pelvic bones, a flat triangular fossil, about 3 feet on a side; a piece of the monster's tusk, and two vertebrae.—From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, June 24, 1934.

A \$3,000 relief bill, presented by Representative Clement C. Dickinson, of Clinton, Missouri, will compensate the St. Ludgers' Catholic Church, at Germantown, Missouri, for the occupation of the church by government troops during 1862-63, and part of 1864.—From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, June 14, 1934.

The newly elected presidents of Kiwanis International and Rotary International are Dr. William J. Carrington, Atlantic City, New Jersey, and Robert L. Hill, Columbia, Missouri. Both are Missourians, and are graduates of the University of Missouri.

Just west of Forest City, Missouri, there is a tract of 4,000 acres which legally is a part of Kansas, although it is east of the Missouri river. This resulted when the river changed its course nearly seventy-five years ago.—From the Kansas City *Times*, May 24, 1934.

George A. Lake, age 91, who was one of the survivors of the Palmyra massacre in 1862, died at his home in Vandalia May 17, 1934.—From the *Vandalia Mail*, May 24, 1934.

Mrs. Emilie Genestelle Tice, great-great-granddaughter of Pierre Laclede, founder of St. Louis, died in Clayton, July 2, 1934, at the age of 89.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, July 4, 1934.

"Power From the Osage River," an article by Albion Davis in the July, 1934 issue of *Union Electric Magazine*, of St. Louis, presents an interesting description and chronological sketch of the Bagnell Dam and the Lake of the Ozarks.

A series of three lengthy and valuable articles on "Methodism in the Boonslick Country," by Rev. O. E. Lockart, covering the period from territorial days to the present, appears in the *New Franklin News* of June 29, July 6, and July 13, 1934.

Two lengthy historical articles on St. Louis county roads entitled "Lemay Ferry and Telegraph Roads, Once Part of Old Kings Trace," and "Halls Ferry and Bellefontaine Roads in Most Historic Part of County," appear in the Clayton, *Watchman-Advocate* of May 25 and June 22, 1934, respectively.

The belief that the site of Kansas City marked the southwest corner of the Great American Glacier many centuries ago is expressed by O. B. Sears, geologist, in the *Kansas City Times* of July 16, 1934.

A manuscript entitled "History of the Jewish Social Service Bureau of St. Louis," by Miss Flora Shapiro, has been donated to this Society by the authoress for permanent preservation. The work dates from 1816 when Wolf Block was recorded as the first Jewish resident in the city.

A Genealogical Department, conducted by the Alexander Doniphan Chapter of the D. A. R. in the *Liberty Chronicle*,

was begun on June 28, 1934. The present series on "Marriage Records of Clay County, 1822-1875," will be an extremely valuable contribution.

The career of Rev. Abram Still, pioneer Methodist missionary who settled in Macon county, Missouri, in 1837, and the growth of Methodism in this area, are described in the Macon *Chronicle-Herald* of July 13, 1934.

A historical sketch of Pryor's Mill, now known as Heckman's Mill, in Osage county since 1851, is given in the Linn, *Unterrified Democrat* of July 12, 1934.

A historical sketch of Chapel Hill College, by J. L. Ferguson, appears in the Warrensburg *Daily Star-Journal* of July 7, 1934.

One hundred dates of historical significance to Henry county were compiled by A. Loyd Collins for the Clinton *Daily Democrat* of May 30, 1934. The county was organized December 13, 1834, so this is its centennial year.

A sketch of Lester Gaba, of Hannibal, Missouri, who is widely known for his soap carvings, appears in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch Sunday Magazine* of July 1, 1934.

Reproductions of J. C. Wild's drawings of the City of St. Louis in 1840 are being made by Charles Overall, St. Louis artist. The original artist's work was printed in *The Valley of the Mississippi*, a rare magazine of the 1840's, edited by Lewis Foulk Thomas. Information about the pictures and copies of them appear in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch Sunday Magazine* of July 1, 1934.

An account of old Union Cemetery, Kansas City, and its prominent dead, written by A. B. MacDonald, appears in the Kansas City *Star* of July 1, 1934.

A historical sketch of the Odessa M. E. Church, South, which was organized in February, 1880, by Judge J. Henry Green, appears in the Odessa *Democrat*, June 29, 1934.

"Historic Randolph Springs," an article by Elizabeth Eleanor Hill, describing the Randolph county salt spring and summer resort of the 1880's appears in the Jefferson City, *Missouri Magazine* of June, 1934.

"Mickey Mouse," an article by Alva Johnston in the July, 1934, issue of *Woman's Home Companion*, describes the creation of this world-famous movie cartoon by Walt Disney, formerly of Marceline and Kansas City, Missouri.

Photographs of all the mayors of Higginsville, from the first in 1886 to date, have been collected by Ralph A. Huscher, the present mayor, for display in the city hall.—From the Higginsville *Jeffersonian*, May 17, 1934.

A series of photographs called "St. Louis Views of Long Ago," begins in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* of June 4, 1934.

A history of the 138th Infantry, Missouri National Guard, since its organization in 1808, has been compiled by Colonel Stephen E. Lowe, commanding officer. The Regiment was organized by Meriwether Lewis, Governor of Louisiana Territory.—From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, June 3, 1934.

The Withers family of Clay County, Missouri, held a reunion at their 100-year-old homestead near Liberty, June 17, 1934.—From the Kansas City *Journal-Post*, June 17, 1934. Mrs. Ethel Withers, of Liberty, compiled a short genealogical record of the family which was distributed as a souvenir of the reunion.

A 110-page "Progress Edition" of the Poplar Bluff *Daily American Republic* was issued May 23, 1934, in advance of the Ozarks Mardi Gras at that city.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS.

Index to the Missouri Historical Review, Volumes I-XXV, 1906-1931, compiled by the Columbia Library Club, and published by the State Historical Society of Missouri, 1934; 353 pages. Research workers and librarians, as well as readers in general, will welcome this *Index* to the first twenty-five volumes of the *Missouri Historical Review*. The compilation is the work of members of the Columbia Library Club, and no less than the *Review* itself, is a contribution to the sources on Missouri history. The need for such an index has been keenly felt by readers and students of Missouri history who have had occasion to use the magazine. The index volume of 353 pages includes in one alphabet a name and subject index to the historical data found in the *Review*, making accessible some sixty-five thousand page entries on Missouri history and biography. As an analytical guide to the wealth of historical, biographical, and genealogical material in the first twenty-five volumes of the *Review*, both persons and libraries owning sets, or even partial sets, of the magazine will find this *Index* an indispensable asset. The indexing has been thoroughly and expertly done, and the Columbia Library Club is to be congratulated on the excellence of the work. The *Index* is printed by the photo-offset process. Copies may be obtained from the Society at \$5.00 per volume.

Introduction to a Survey of Missouri Place-Names, by Robert L. Ramsay, Allen Walker Read, and Esther Gladys Leech, in *University of Missouri Studies*, Vol. IX, No. 1, January 1, 1934. 124 pages. University of Missouri; \$1.25. The study of Missouri place-names has been in progress by students of the English department of the Graduate School of the University of Missouri for the past six years, and during this time sixty counties have been covered. An account of the work is set forth in this number of the *Studies*, as are also

a copy of the instructions to workers in this field, a general bibliography of library sources, and a specimen study of the place-names in Pike county.

Missouri dialects and the linguistic development of American English in our state, Missouri folkways and folklore, Missouri social life and growth, and some Missouri archeology are all illustrated in Missouri names. Place-names in our state are found to include Indian, French, Spanish, and English names, and through the development and change in social Missouri may be found different classes of names. To the student of linguistic history, the archeologist, the biographer, and the historian, the study of place-names which has been begun so vigorously in Missouri will be of help and interest, and the present publication will serve as an invaluable guide.

A most readable and valuable compilation is the history of the Old Cathedral Parish of St. Louis by Paul C. Schulte entitled *The Catholic Heritage of Saint Louis*, published this year. The author with fine appropriateness dedicates the work to his old pastor and friend, Father John E. Rothensteiner, whose monumental work entitled *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis* (2 vols., 1928), has been freely used in the preparation of the present volume.

Emphasis has been placed in this work on purely local history. The author's fortunate position and the scope of his present work are well set forth in the concluding paragraph of his Foreword: "For eighty years after the founding of the city, the Catholic population formed but one congregation; therefore, any Catholic history of early St. Louis must be a history of the Old Cathedral Parish. As pastor of the Old Cathedral, I have had the advantage of having ready access to the old records and many manuscripts; these I have searched diligently in order to make the following annals as complete and as accurate as possible."

The reader is well repaid in reading this book. It is delightfully written and presents in few pages a remarkably complete and accurate treatment of its subject. No one can

know the history, the culture, of St. Louis without having knowledge of the many important facts here set forth. The struggles of the St. Louis priests and their congregation to erect a house of worship, the aid in men and money from Europe, the efforts of Bishops Du Bourg, Rosati, and Kenrick to build and finance cathedrals and churches, the problem of conducting services in three languages—French, English, and German—the establishment of Catholic schools, colleges, and a university, the organization of functioning charitable societies, hospitals, and homes for orphans during the period considered, are told in a simple, brief, and impressive manner. One closes this book with a sense of gratitude to the author.

The Mississippi Question, 1795-1803, by Arthur Preston Whitaker, Professor of American History, Cornell University. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1934. 342 pages, \$3.50.) In this excellent volume, written for the American Historical Association, Professor Whitaker has shown how Louisiana gradually slipped from the grasp of Spain and ultimately came into the possession of the United States. The narrative is one in which diplomacy looms large; but it is also one in which careful attention has been given to political and commercial factors conditioning the course of diplomatic relations. American schemes to seize Spanish territory are clearly shown to have influenced Spain in disposing of Louisiana; and the steadily accumulating forces of American economic expansion are convincingly presented as contributing towards the same end. The author leaves little doubt, too, about the importance of such factors in influencing Napoleon's decision to sell Louisiana.

The volume contains a considerable amount of information regarding the Missouri settlements in Upper Louisiana. Professor Whitaker has briefly but effectively described outstanding weaknesses of the Spanish position there: inadequate military defense; exposure to economic penetration from the eastward; the delay, expense, and linguistic difficulties incident to the adjustment of legal disputes. Space is given to the influx of Americans into Missouri; to the growth of trade between the residents of that region and Ohio; and to the

commercial benefits which accrued to producers and merchants of St. Louis in consequence of Spain's removal of trade barriers along the Mississippi. References to Moses Austin and his lead mines appear fairly frequently throughout the book; and attention is called to the swarm of office-seekers who sought political preferment in Louisiana when that region was finally ceded to the United States.—Ray W. Irwin, New York University.

Tombstone Records of Boone County, Missouri, compiled and published by Mrs. E. E. Evans and Mrs. J. Frank Thompson, of Columbia, Missouri; 156 pages, mimeographed; \$3.50. This volume is the third in a series of records of Boone county which has been compiled and published by these authors. It is made up of records from fifty-two church and public cemeteries, and fifty-nine family burying grounds. Tombstones of adults were copied where the dates of birth were prior to 1860. The volume represents much careful and painstaking labor, and will be useful to genealogists, historians, and biographers.

A Historical Sketch of Bonne Terre, by F. H. Dearing, published by the author at Bonne Terre, Missouri, September 1, 1933; 27 pages. This pamphlet gives many interesting facts about the growth and development of a town which is in the lead mining district of St. Francois county. One of the earliest records is that of the postoffice called "Bontear" which was established May 13, 1868. The town was laid out on land owned by the St. Joseph Lead Company, and its development has paralleled that of lead mining. Names of pioneer citizens and accounts of their work are given, as are also sketches of public institutions and buildings.

St. Paul's Lutheran Church, Concordia, Missouri; a Brief History and a Souvenir Prepared for the Ninetieth Anniversary, May 13-18, 1934. Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Missouri; 35 pages. This pamphlet and the celebration for which it was prepared commemorate the ninetieth anniversary

of the dedication of the first St. Paul's Lutheran Church building at Concordia, in 1844. The congregation was organized without any missionary assistance, and chose one of its own members as its first pastor. From this humble beginning the growth of the congregation is traced to the present, its membership now being 1,490.

PERSONALS.

THOMAS HART BENTON DUNNEGAN: Born in Lawrence county, Mo., April 1, 1842; died in Bolivar, Mo., June 19, 1934. During the Civil War he served in the Union army, and in 1872 founded the Polk County Bank, serving as its president until his death. He was a member of the local board of education, and the park and library boards. He was the donor of a forty-five acre memorial park in honor of the war dead. Mr. Dunnegan was a trustee of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and was formerly president of the Missouri Bankers' Association. He had also served on the board of trustees of the State Historical Society of Missouri for many years.

BENJAMIN F. LEONARD: Born in Champaign Co., Ohio, May 22, 1858; died in Bolivar, Mo., June 9, 1934. He moved to Missouri with his parents, and at the age of twenty-one entered the real estate business. He moved to Bolivar in 1884, and during 1888-92 was postmaster. He was active in politics and held many positions in local and state Republican circles.

JOHN MONTGOMERY, JR.: Born in Danville, Ky., August 18, 1844; died in Sedalia, Mo., July 28, 1934. He came to Missouri early in life and during the Civil war served in the commissary department of the Union army. It is said that he burned the city hall at Glasgow to prevent the capture of supplies. After the war he studied law under his relative, Senator George G. Vest, and after entering practice served in the legal department of the M., K. & T. railroad as assistant general attorney. He had held official positions in the Presbyterian church and the Y. M. C. A., and was widely known for his successful legal practice.

DAVID BRAINARD ORMISTON: Born near Marietta, Ohio, March 6, 1859; died in Linneus, Mo., July 14, 1934. He moved with his parents to Brookfield in 1865, and in 1876 began teaching school in Linn county, then attended the State Teachers College at Kirksville. In 1883 he worked in Linneus, and the next year moved to a farm in Kansas. On Sept. 17, 1884, he bought an interest in the *Linn County News*, one year later becoming sole owner. He edited this paper until his death, and served three terms on the Republican State Committee. For twenty-three years he was postmaster at Linneus.

SIDNEY CRAIN ROACH: Born at old Linn Creek, Mo., July 25, 1876; died in Kansas City, Mo., June 29, 1934. He studied law in the St. Louis Law School, and during 1898-1909 was prosecuting attorney of Camden county. During 1909-13 he was representative in the General Assembly, and during 1921-25 was representative in Congress.

SIMEON D. ROGERS: Born in Texas; died in St. Louis, Mo., July 23, 1934, at the age of 73. He came to St. Louis in 1873, and in 1879 became a retouch artist for the late J. C. Strauss. He held this position until 1888 and then studied art in Europe. He returned to the Strauss Studio in 1913, serving there until his death. He painted the portraits of seven Missouri governors now displayed in the State Capitol, as well as those of many other notable persons.

FRANK MEEKER RUMBOLD: Born in Lafayette Co., Wis., Jan. 4, 1862; died in Washington, D. C., June 3, 1934. He studied medicine in St. Louis, but practiced only a short time before joining Battery A, St. Louis light artillery, of which he later became captain. He saw service in Porto Rico and the Philippines during 1898-1901, and during the Mexican border troubles. He was called into federal service in 1916, and in 1917 took charge of the 128th field artillery. After duty in France he served on the general staff during 1920-23, then was relieved. He was adjutant general of Missouri for two terms under Governor Hadley.

DAN SAYRE: Born in Indiana, Feb. 6, 1868; died in Noel, Mo., July 28, 1934. Early in life he moved to Platte county and engaged in the livestock business. He moved to Mc-

Donald county and in 1929 represented that county in the 55th General Assembly. He operated a 600-acre ranch and summer resort near Noel.

ROBERT MORGAN WHITE: Born in Southampton, Long Island, May 3, 1855; died in Mexico, Mo., June 26, 1934. He moved to Mexico with his parents in 1866, and attended Westminster College, at Fulton. In September, 1876, he purchased the Mexico *Ledger*, a paper which he published until his death. Beginning in 1888 he issued a *Daily Ledger* also. From 1901 until 1932 he was chairman of the finance committee of the State Historical Society of Missouri, and during 1914-16 was its president. In 1885 he was president of the Missouri Press Association, and in 1894 and 1895 was recording secretary of the National Editorial Association. He became president of the Mexico Savings Bank in 1919, a position he held until his death. He was also a member of the board of managers of State Hospital No. 1, and the board of managers of state eleemosynary institutions for many years. He was given the University of Missouri School of Journalism award for distinguished service in journalism in 1934.

MRS. MARY E. WOLTER (nee Mary E. Starrett): Born in Bellefontaine, Ohio, Nov. 26, 1836; died in St. Louis, Mo., July 9, 1934. She was educated in a seminary in Springfield, Ohio, then conducted a private school for a time. She contributed short stories and articles to the Bellefontaine weekly newspaper under the pen name of Mary Clausen. She first married William Leak, and with him moved to Lebanon, Mo. Some years after his death she married Charles F. Wolter. She was a frequent contributor to the Lebanon paper which became the *Rustic*, and had three book-length novels to her credit. After the death of Mr. Wolter she resided in St. Louis.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

WHEAT HARVEST IN 1819

From the St. Louis *Enquirer*, July 21, 1819.

The wheat harvest came on in Missouri in the first week of July, and yielded an abundant crop. Thirty-five and forty bushels the acre is spoken of, though we have not yet heard of the product of any acre being exactly ascertained. The weight of Missouri wheat is almost incredible, & long as the country has been settled no flies have yet been known to attack it. From this time forth the Missouri can furnish with provisions all the troops which the United States maintain upon the frontiers of the territory.

IMMIGRATION IN MISSOURI IN 1819

From the St. Louis *Enquirer* (semi-weekly), November 10, 1819.

A citizen of St. Charles who has taken the trouble to note the wagons, carriages, and carts which have passed that town during the present fall reports their numbers to average 120 per week for nine or ten weeks back. Supposing the number of individuals attached to each vehicle to amount to eight or ten, and the aggregate would be equal to 10 or 12,000 souls which have entered the territory upon that line alone. They come almost exclusively from the states south of the Ohio and the Potomac, bring many slaves, large herds of cattle, fine road wagons, many handsome carriages and give us an increase of population still more valuable for its respectability than for its numbers.

(Editor's Note: The following is from another article in the same issue of the *Enquirer*):

.....From undoubted authority I am assured, that during the month of October last, the number of wagons and fourwheeled carriages which passed Mrs. Griffith's in the point of Missouri river, bound for Boon's Lick, Salt river, &c. was 271; the number of two wheeled carriages, carts, &c. during the same time was 55; these were exclusive of pack horses, &c. which amounted to many. The above number were actually counted. Now supposing 10 souls to each wagon, &c (and the calculation is very moderate) there would be upwards 3000 souls that arrived in that month at one *single point* in the territory; what then must be the probable number who come to St. Louis and other places, and who arrive at other parts of the territory? I would venture to say that during the present fall, not less than 10 or 15,000 souls will come in to the different parts.

SOME HISTORY OF LIBERTY LANDING

Excerpts from the *Liberty Tribune*, June 21, 1934.

Old Liberty Landing was started by Mr. Joel Turnham. In 1831 he made application for the building of a landing on the Missouri river, and in the May term of court that year James Roberts was appointed inspector for the warehouse he was then building. Mr. Turnham operated the landing until 1854, when he sold it to John Baxter, who developed the landing into one of the principal steamboat ports on the Missouri river. Mr. Baxter was the father of Mrs. Maggie Park, mother of Governor Guy B. Park. Mr. Baxter later started a general mercantile store which soon became to be known as Shanty Town.

Mr. Turnham continued to live in the old house until the start of the Civil war, when he loaded his hundred-odd slaves on a steamboat and started for the South. He first went to New Orleans and from there to Cameron, Tex., where he died a year or two later.

(Editor's Note: The 16-room Turnham house built in 1842, and the 116-acre farm have been donated to the Helping Hand Institute by William Volker of Kansas City, and the house will be restored for use.)

STEAMBOATING ON THE MISSOURI RIVER IN 1845

From the *St. Louis, Missouri Reporter*, February 4, 1846.

A friend at Glasgow, Missouri, has furnished us with the following list of steamers which landed at that place during the last year. Some of them made several trips: Little Mail, Yucatan, Tioga, Kinney, Big Hatchee, Monona, Prairie Bird, John Golong, Wapello, Lexington, New Haven, Brazil, Radnor, Independence, John Aull, Mendota, Archer, Warsaw, L. F. Linn, Henry Bry, Lebanon, Potosi, Mary Tompkins, Annawan, Frolic, Brunswick, Columbian, Tributary, Omega, Huntsville, Nodaway, Hibernian, Boreas No. 2, Importer, Gen. Brooke, White Cloud, Republic, W. N. Mercer, Mo. Mail, Balloon, Nimrod, Amaranth, Ohio, Tobacco Plant.

In 1844 there were only 27 steamers which made trips on the Missouri river, as far up as Glasgow. Last year, it is well known, was very unfavorable to the river trade, owing to long continued low water. The amount of produce sent forward on the Missouri river is increasing annually with great rapidity, and it is important that that river should be kept constantly free from snags and other obstructions which can be easily removed. Many boats engage in the Missouri river trade for a few trips only, during high water, whilst others run as regular packets. The importance of the Missouri to transportation must continue to increase as the western portion of the State advances in population and agricultural enterprise; whilst the Santa Fe trade, the fur trade, the shipment of supplies for the Indian tribes, and the increasing emigration to Oregon, make it of still greater

moment that Congress should pass the necessary appropriation for keeping that river in good navigable condition for as many months of each year as is practicable.

(Editor's Note: In this same issue of the paper there is an advertisement of certain steamboat masters, and from this the names of masters of some of the boats operating on the Missouri up to Glasgow can be secured.)

MISSOURIANS IN NEW MEXICO

From the *Columbia*, *Missouri Alumnus*, March, 1934.

Eighty-eight years ago on August 18 the American Flag was raised at Santa Fe, New Mexico. Standing at attention was the First Regiment Missouri Mounted Volunteers—the first troops to enter Mexican territory, and the regiment whose march was destined to be the longest in American history.

From the day of Doniphan's Expedition to the present Missourians have taken active and colorful roles in the beginning and rise of New Mexico.

The next regiment to reach Santa Fe was the 2nd Missouri Mounted Volunteers commanded by Sterling Price, afterwards Governor of Missouri, and a famous Confederate general.

Charles Bent, a Missourian, received the military appointment as first governor of New Mexico. A few years later under territorial government two other Missourians, David Merriweather and Henry Connelly in 1853 and 1861, respectively, attained the position of New Mexico's chief executive. Another eminent figure of those early days was William T. Thornton, a member of the territorial legislature in 1882 and governor in 1893.

Among the former students and alumni of the University [of Missouri] whose careers were early identified with the history of New Mexico were Thomas B. Catron, Stephen B. Elkins, Henry L. Waldo, and N. P. Laughlin.

Catron was elected as United States Senator from New Mexico, serving from 1912 to 1917. He won the confidence of his people as a member of the territorial council in 1884, 1888, 1890, 1899, 1905 and 1909, as attorney-general in 1869, and as delegate to Congress four years later.

Elkins, who had also served as a member of the territorial legislature, attorney-general, and a delegate to Congress, was United States attorney in 1867, and afterwards senator from West Virginia.

Waldo, after serving as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court from 1876 to 1878, became attorney-general.

Laughlin was a member of the legislature in 1886 and a member of the Supreme Court from 1894 to 1898.

Today there are other Missourians whose names are well known in New Mexico. William C. Davidson, a graduate of the University and a former member of the faculty of the School of Engineering, was district

highway engineer for the state highway commission from 1916 to 1917. Following this he served as state highway engineer as administrative officer for the state highway commission.

Otto Askren, now practicing law in Santa Fe, a graduate of the School of Law, was attorney-general from 1919 to 1921.

Col. E. L. Lusk, a member of the New Mexico Military Institute, graduated from the University of Missouri with a degree in civil engineering in 1908.

Ever prominent in public affairs in New Mexico is George H. Hunker, who is now manager of the Santa Fe branch of the Regional Agricultural Credit Corporation, which loans millions of dollars in the interest of livestock in New Mexico. Hunker was state chairman of the Democratic committee.

John and James Hinkle, both native Missourians and graduates of the University, sought their careers in New Mexico. John I. Hinkle entered the practice of law in Roswell in 1892, and was a member of the constitutional convention of one hundred to draft the constitution of New Mexico in 1910. Among other honors he was chosen as delegate to the National Democratic Convention in 1912. He is now manager of the branch of the Home Owner's Loan Corporation located in Santa Fe.

John F. Hinkle, a cattleman of the open range, became one of the largest individual cattle owners in southeastern New Mexico. With his advancement he bought interest in lumber companies, banks, and other business houses. His political career began locally as he was chosen mayor of Roswell. He served in the state legislature six terms, and in 1922 when he was elected governor on the Democratic ticket he received the largest majority ever given a governor in that state.

In 1908 a Missourian moved to New Mexico and homesteaded a claim near Ragland. The following year he moved to Clovis to be able to continue the practice of law, and began a career which today has elevated him, Andrew W. Hockenhull, to the position of governor of New Mexico . . .

A DEBATING SOCIETY OF 1849

Excerpt from the Diary of Patrick McLeod, written near Oregon, Holt County, Missouri, February 1, 1849; reprinted from the *Paris Mercury* April 4, 1930.

Debating Society. This evening at the earnest request of several young men I called a meeting at the school room to organize a debating society. Presuming that they felt at a loss how to proceed I deemed it my duty to assist. On motion one man was placed in the chair and another was appointed to act as secretary. Before we had proceeded any further the gentleman placed in the chair arose and in a mad way, asked why they had picked on him in that way—"picking him out." If any of them had a spite why they could just step out and he would give them any satisfaction they wished. By a little explanation I got him pacified. The debate went on and truly 'twas a rich scene

NAVIGATION OF BLACK RIVER IN 1861

Reprinted from the Cape Girardeau *Eagle* by the Ste. Genevieve *Plain-dealer*, March 22, 1861.

From Capt. John A. Williams, a citizen of this place now engaged in navigating Black river with the steamboat *Danl. B. Miller*, we have learned some facts with reference to his first trip up that river. The Captain succeeded in reaching the town of Poplar Bluff, in Butler county, with a fair freight of groceries, and paid us a flying visit from that point. The *Miller* left New Orleans with a good freight, mainly for ports on White river, and after a temporary stop at Pocahontas, Ark., a few miles above that point, turned the *Miller* into the Little Black river, where they found an abundance of water, but experienced some difficulty from abrupt curves and overhanging timber. Capt. Williams did not permit these obstacles to deter him, however, but succeeded in reaching his destination (Poplar Bluff) safe and sound. As might be expected, the sight of a steamboat in those waters excited no little surprise, and the inhabitants flocked to the river bank to greet the welcome visitor. The *Miller* reached Poplar Bluff on the 26th ultimo, and on the following Thursday, treated the people of that vicinity to a pleasure trip, in which some 250 persons participated. The Captain gives a glowing description of the Black river country—soil excellent, and the timber unequalled. All that is wanted to make it one of the most prosperous localities in the State is settlers. And now that it has been satisfactorily demonstrated that the Little Black is susceptible of steamboat navigation, we doubt not immigration will rapidly set in. The people of that section are under many obligations to the owners and officers of the *Miller* for their enterprise, and we have no doubt they will hold them in greatful [sic] remembrance.

Capt. Williams, Capt. Jeff. Baldwin (pilot) and Capt. Wells (clerk), are all citizens of this place. Who can say that the *Miller* is not well officered?

THE LACLEDE & FORT SCOTT RAILROAD

From the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, May 3, 1934.

Traced across Dallas county is the graded roadbed of a railroad that was never built, an undertaking that ended in failure and left a county hopelessly in debt—but that nightmare of high financing and ambitious endeavor was a blessing in disguise.

The same bonded indebtedness that caused the county court to hold sessions in the woods to avoid settlement of the bonds kept land values down to a sane level when the rest of the country was running wild during the "boom" period.

There has not been a bank failure in the county, nor has there been a single case of farm bankruptcy.

"We were tremendously handicapped by not having a railroad in the early days," says W. C. Hawkins, for 20 years president of the O'Bannon Bank of Buffalo, "but that same handicap, along with the railroad bonds, kept real estate values from getting too high.

"Then, with the coming of good highways, motor trucks and cars, we find that we have fared pretty well during the depression. Many of the county's farmers never have been in debt."

Back in 1869 a railroad company was formed that proposed to build a line from Lebanon to Fort Scott, Kan., by way of Buffalo. It was known as the Laclede and Fort Scott Railroad Co. It was a splendid thing—it promised a rosy future for the territory. There was little trouble in getting citizens to vote bonds for the undertaking. Crews of workmen started on the project.

Then came the panic of 1873. Dreams and ambitions, instead of being realized, became haunting memories. Bonds for the road had fallen into the hands of innocent holders. Litigation followed, with the county taking the case to the Supreme Court.

One member of the county court was placed in jail because of efforts to keep the county from paying for something it never received.

After the bonds and interest had pyramided to more than \$2,000,000, a compromise at \$300,000 was made. Approximately two-thirds of this amount had been paid, and the old bugaboo "the bonds" is rapidly being forgotten.

Culverts made of cut stone for the old Laclede and Fort Scott Railroad—the road that was paid for but never built—stand near the town and are being saved as a monument to an endeavor that instead of bringing the "ruin" once believed, acted as a benefit and has enabled the citizens of Dallas county, because of lighter farm indebtedness, to ride the depression.

HOW TAX MONEY IS SPENT

Excerpt from an address of Honorable Forrest Smith, State Auditor of Missouri, printed in the *Columbia Tribune*, October 13, 1933.

.... Especially interesting to citizens of Columbia and Boone county is the following statement of Mr. Smith showing just where and in what amount this tax money is expended.

"Take a citizen of Columbia, for example, to illustrate just where the tax law galls. The total direct tax that the property owner pays in your town is \$3.03 on every \$100 assessed valuation. It is divided as follows:

School tax.....	\$1.50
City tax.....	.72
County tax.....	.38
Special road and bridge tax.....	.16
Hospital tax.....	.12
State tax.....	.15

"Of the state tax, ten cents goes for tax purposes which were voted by the people and cannot be lowered. For instance, six cents for the soldiers' bonus, three cents for blind pension, and one cent for state interest. That leaves five cents for the general revenue on which to run the entire cost of the State of Missouri, and of the five cents, the public schools get one-third of this sum, leaving only three and one-third cents on the \$100 assessed valuation to the support of all departments of the state government. The following shows where the tax money goes:

- 49.50 per cent goes for schools.
- 23.77 per cent goes for the City of Columbia.
- 12.54 per cent goes for the county.
- 5.28 per cent goes for special road and bridge.
- 3.96 per cent goes for hospital.
- 3.30 per cent goes for soldiers' bonus, blind pension and interest.
- 1.65 per cent goes for state revenue.

"One and one-tenth per cent goes for state revenue less one-third for schools. It is thus seen from the above that those who would cut down the expenses of the state government would only have 1.1 per cent of the state taxes to whittle on. A person living in Columbia will pay the following tax on an assessment of \$1,000:

School tax, \$15
City tax, \$7.20
County tax, \$3.80
Special road tax, \$1.60
Hospital tax, \$1.20
Soldiers' bonus, blind pension, and interest tax, \$1.00
State revenue tax, 50c.

"This makes a total of \$30.30. Thus, it is shown that out of \$30.30 paid on an assessment of \$1,000 in the City of Columbia, the taxpayer only pays for the state revenue tax fifty cents less one-third which is allocated to the support of the public schools, this leaving 33 cents on which to run the state government, as one-third of all state revenue taxes is set aside to the common school fund."









